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CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

We feel great pleasure in presenting this volume to learned numismatists whose studies have immensely contributed to the success of the present journal, which has gradualy assumed international importance in the field of historical research. As we know, the dumb and tongueless coins, like other antiquities, have been the mute recorders of some of the wonderful events connected with many a period of our history which would otherwise have remained absolutely forgotten and ignored. Harbingers of culture, they also speak of various political upheavals that shape and change from time to time the currents of the annals of a country. And, it is in this context that notices of new finds and interpretations and studies of coins which have already come to light, assume all the more significance throwing new light on hitherto unknown aspects of our history.

Unfortunately for us, interest in numismatic studies had started dwindling for some time past, but of late it has again revived, receiving remarkably encouraging response from the new generation of numismatics which nodoubt augurs well for the study of coinage.

We take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to the members of the Executive Council of the *NSI,* to the learned contributors to this volume who promptly responded to our request by sending their valuable articles and to the members of the Editorial Board, Dr. T. P. Verma, Dr. O. P. Singh and Dr. S. K. Bhatt, for their ungrudging help and unstinted co-operation.

We feel it our pleasant duty to request our learned contributors to continue to extend their valuable co-operation in future also.

Inspite of our sincere efforts, the present volume has not come up to our expectations and a few errors have escaped our notice. But, we assure our readers that in future we shall try our best not to leave any scope for their criticism as regards editing and presentation of papers.

PROBLEM OF FORGERY IN INDIAN NUMISMATICS

UPENDRA THAKUR

Mr. President, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to thank the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India for the great honour they have done me by electing me president of this session. I am extremely grateful to you for this. I am well aware of my shortcomings. As scholars like you always accept the essential good and reject the residue, I request you to listen to a few words I have to say in inaugurating the proceedings of this Session.

I

Numismatics, as we know, constitutes one of the most reliable sources of revealing and projecting the past history of India and it now forms an important part of syllabus of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology in most of the universities of India and abroad. Growing popularity of the subject has of late become an object of earning money through forgery of ancient coins by some modern dealers, posing a great problem for numismatists. As a result of this unhealthy trend, some of the genuine coins have become suspect and most of the fake coins have passed for genuine ones which have given rise to great controversies among scholars. I, therefore, propose to discuss this vital problem in brief in the following pages.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is probably the first treatise that deals with forgery in mints, which shows that as far back as the Mauryan age this problem posed a big headache for the State, and is not a new development in the field of numismatics in modern times as some scholars believe. Kauṭilya prescribes heavy punishment for persons "making counterfeit coins or using them". Spies were appointed by the State "to hunt after the manufacturers of counterfeit coins and when any counterfeiter was detected, he was banished from the State".[1] This corrupt practice was mostly indulged in by goldsmiths who usually possessed the know-how. In ancient Greece debasement of coins through private agencies was regarded a very serious crime and almost the same was prevalent throughout the Roman empire as well as in India.[2] Yājñavalkya says that a man who declared good coin as bad and bad coin as good should be properly punished.[3] Kauṭilya prescribes severe monetary punishment for manufacture of counterfeit coins for those who accept it and pass it off to another.[4] According to him, whosoever causes (gold or silver articles) to be manufactured in any place other than the mint or without being noticed by the State goldsmiths should be fined 12 *paṇas*, while the artisan who does that work should, if found out, be punished with twice the above fine. If he is not found out, Kauṭilya describes measures how to detect him, and when detected he should be fined 200 *paṇas* or should have his fingers cut off.[5] All this suggests that the forgery of coins was widely practised during this period and when detected the criminal had to undergo heavy punishment.[6] This is further confirmed by the charter of Vishṇusena[7] which points to the prevalence of this corrupt and harmful practice among the trading class and the goldsmiths who were the worst type of deceitful persons, but when detected they were given punishment by cutting off their limbs bit by bit.[8]

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* Presidential Address delivered at the 70th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India held at Vikram University, Ujjain on November 7, 1982.

A close study of ancient texts would show that forgery of coins in early periods was done mostly in State and private mints where the artisans could lower down the quality and prescribed weights of the coins which is evidenced by Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. In early periods the coins were manufactured usually by three techniques—punching, casting and striking, and therefore while discussing the concept of coins, we should be free from any kind of pre-determined prejudice and ideas. The simplest method of detecting forgery is to determine the method of technique. For instance, as we know, the Kushāṇa coins were minted by the die-struck process, but if any Kushāṇa coin is found to be a cast one, it will be treated as a product of the forger's apparatus. However, we must be very clear in our mind while determining the problem because the so-called forgery may be both ancient and modern, as is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* and other early texts which show that this practice was as widely rampant in early times as in modern days.[1] There can be no denying the fact that the work of a contemporary forger is as good as that of an official mint which is an index of the state of evolution of the technique, but the forger's technique is always liable to be simpler and more primitive.

---

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, II, 12: IV, I. Also see Upendra Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, p. 62, (hence forth *MMI*).

[2] For details see Upendra Thakur, *Corruption in Ancient India*, p. 52.

[3] *Yāj*. II. 241. Also see *Bṛh. Up*. XVII. 18; *Nārada-Smṛti* X. 2-3; *Kāt. Śra. Sū*., 668-70.

[4] *Arth*., IV. 2-3.

[5] *Ibid*, II. 14.

[6] For details see Upendra Thakur, *CAI*, p. 53 ff.

[7] *EI*, XXX., pp. 163-81.

[8] *Manu*. IX. 292; *Mātsya*. 227; *Yāj*. 11. 297; P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. III, p. 521; Upendra Thakur, *CAI*, pp. 53-56.

Minting forgery is generally of two kinds—(i) hand-made and (ii) machine-made. We have no reliable evidence of the second type of forgery in ancient times. As we have already pointed out elsewhere that although the technique of casting coins did not find favour with the State mints, it nonetheless proved a very useful device for the counterfeiters. Many moulds used in State-mints as well as in the ateliers of the counterfeiters have come to light in recent times.[2] Some of the moulds found at Eraṇ, Rohtak, Taxila, Mathurā, Atranji Khera, Koṇḍapura, Sāñchī, Sunet, Śiśupālagarh, Kāśī, Nālandā and other sites, said to be the products of forger's apparatus would show that the minting forgery in ancient times was hand-made. Discussing the coin-moulds found at Taxila Marshall suggests that some of these moulds belonged to the plant of a forger, because in several cases, one and the same disc bears the impress of two different coins—a procedure which was never adopted in an official mint.[3]

II

The popularity of the punch-marked coins till as late as the 5th century A. D. is well illustrated by the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosha who, while referring to the manufacture of the *kārshāpaṇa* says that it was not directly associated with the State in the fifth century A. D. It can therefore be naturally inferred that they were produced by moulds during this period.

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[1] For details see Upendra Thakur, *CAI*, p. 52 ff.

[2] For details see Upendra Thakur, *MMI* chap. III; B. Sahni, *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, 1945. Bombay.

[3] J. Marshall, "Excavations at Taxila" in *ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1912-13, pp. 34-35.

A rare bronze die for making punch-marked coins, found at Eraṇ (Madhya Pradesh) was reported by Cunningham which was later also reviewed by Birbal Sahni. It is a broken die about half an inch thick, with a depression at the back which no doubt received the end of the punch.[1] The most curious fact about this mould is that it was made with a view to striking several different designs carried by the coin at single blow whereas it is to be clearly seen that different designs were stamped successively by different punches in all typical punch-marked coins. In other words, it raises serious doubt about its genuineness and may be a forger's apparatus.[2] Cunningham suggests that it was probably employed "for the purpose of stamping pieces of copper to be afterwards plated in imitation of the true punch-marked coins".[3] According to him, "it was one of the earliest dies which immediately preceded the use of a single type die". The suggestion is not convincing as it goes against the established numismatic data and tradition. Sahni has rightly suggested that "the single type method is obviously the simpler and more primitive method and it is unlikely that it was preceded by the complex type process",[4] as the punch-marked coins carry only a single design to begin with, and on later coins with multiple designs we come across symbols overlapping one another.[5] The fact, however, remains that this bronze die is unique as it constitutes the only specimen of its type in India, and as snch can not be summarily dismissed as a forger's apparatus. We would have to wait for more positive data before we finally pronounce any opinion in the matter.

Some interesting compound moulds of punch-marked coins from Mathurā have been discussed by Panna Lal and B. Sahni.[6] These are round discs (2.35″ in diameter) of very fine terracotta (clay baked red) which very clearly preserve the impressions of punchmarks. These moulds were so designed as to produce in a single operation coins of kind that must normally have been struck with a series of punches, and for this reason they are regarded as the work of a forger.[1] Panna Lal, on the other hand, suggested that these moulds are as old as the era when this type of coinage was current in India.[2] According to Durga Prasad, however, these coins are not older than 2nd or 1st century A. D. and they bear impression of Pre-Mauryan, Nanda and Mauryan coins of three different periods, ranging from 5th to 3rd centuries B. C. The impression on the moulds are from known punch-marked coins of silver. It is worth noticing in this connection that none of the coins shows the symbol groups of the *Śūrasenī* coins of Mathurā of seventh or sixth century B. C. "It appears that some ingenious person made an attempt to take silver punch-marked coins by casting and prepared these compound moulds from very fine clay but he made the impressions from worn coins which are now available, not knowing that he was using coins of three different periods".[3] V. S. Agrawala also supports this view as their construction generally resembled that of the Takshaśilā mould and those from the Roman sites in Europe and Africa all of which belong to the early centuries of the Christian era.[4] Besides forgery, another interesting fact about these moulds is that they reveal evidence of the use of a wooden turn-table like a miniature potter's wheel.[5]

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[1] U. Thakur, *MMI*, p. 114.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

[3] *ASI*, *Reports*, X, pp. 77-78, pl. XXIV.

[4] B. Sahni, *op. cit.* pp. 50-57.

[5] U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

[6] B. Sahni, *op. cit.*, pl. vi, figs. 128-31; Thakur, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-26.

III

The advent of the Kushāṇas on the political scene of India, was a blessing in disguise so far as Indian numismatics is concerned. They were first rulers to have issued regular gold coins along with a few silver and copper ones which were usually minted by die-struck process. On account of their contents and popularity they naturally attracted the forgers to produce clay-moulds to cast these coins and pass them as genuine ones.

Recently V. S. Agrawala published a circular Kushāṇa coin-mould of clay (.8″ diameter assigned to 1st century A.D.) discovered from Khokrakat site on the outskirts of the Rohtak town which was once the celebrated mint-town of the Yaudheyas. The mould shows a female figure standing to right, holding in her upraised left hand a cornucopiae. The right hand is fixed at elbow and placed near the girdles with a slightly forward motion. She is wearing a turban on the head, pedants in the ears, a sleeved jacket on the bust and a *dhotī* drooping front fold, shown as a loop in front of the figure. Besides, we have on the right side the legend *Ardaksho* in Greek script as on usual Kushāṇa coins.[1] Evidently the purpose of this circular mould was to cast a gold coin of Huvishka. It is difficult to determine the official character of this mould which A. S. Altekar takes to be a forgery and suggests that the local rulers of the Punjab might have issued Kushāṇa coins from the moulds during 3rd-5th centuries A.D., owing to their great poularity.[2] Thus, it is very difficult to say when and by whom the mould was prepared.[3]

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[1] B. Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[2] *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 127-40, pl. iv.

[3] Durga Prasad, quoted Shani, pp. 47, 49.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 47; U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[5] For details see U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

We have yet another coin-mould of second centuıy A. D. found form the side of a ravine mound of Atranji Khera in the Etah district of Uttara Pradesh. "The coins represented in this mould are apparently the issues of Huvishka, the Kushāṇa king, who has the unique elephant rider-type on the obverse. Some of the figures also show a standing deity which, again, is different in different impressions, one of which can be recognised as Moon-god".[4] It is, however, difficult to determine whether it is rectangular or square. There is also no indication whether at the time of casting, the mould was encased in plaster. It is therefore natural to make one suspect a forgery as in the case of Takshaśilā moulds, because the coins in it were not at all of one kind.[5]

IV

It is intereiting to note that unlike the clay-moulds of the punch-marked coins, the clay-moulds of the Śaka-Pahlava coins known so far are extremely rare. As few clay-moulds of the Śaka-Pahlava coins were found from the famous site of Sirkap near Takshaśilā bearing the effigy of king Azes II. John Marshall[6] has described such 28 moulds of which eight were complete discs, and the rest in fragments.[1] The most important fragment is a flat piece of red clay about 8 cms. long bearing protions of five coin-impressions on its inner face. This also presents a coin of Maues I. But, the coin-impressions are sharper than those on other Takshaśilā moulds and definitely suggest a fine workmanship. Moreover, it is rectangular and not of the circular disc type which makes one suspect that it belonged to the plant of a forger.

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[1] *JNSI*, XV, pp. 68-69.

[2] *INC*, VII, pt. ii, p. 85.

[3] For other details see U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 123; *INC*, III, pt. i, p. 85.

[4] Quoted Sahni, *op. cit.*, p. 43. For details see U. Thakur, *op, cit.*, p. 127.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 127; *INC*, III, pt. i, pp. 91-92; *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 185.

[6] "Excavations at Taxila" in *ASI*. Ann. Rep., 1912-13, pp. 34-35, pl. XXXI.

Some coins moulds belonging to the 1st century A. D. from Koṇḍapura (Andhra Pradesh) have been reported by Yazdani which, like the Mathurā moulds, were meant for duplicating the coins of the Western Kshatrapas by the casting process, which were normally struck with punches.[2] Similarly, four coin moulds preserved in the Sāñchī museum are also interesting as they, too, were used for casting coins of the rulers of the Western Kshatrapas.[3] Naturally they make one suspect a forger's apparatus.

V

The Sātavāhana coins, though minted mostly in lead, copper and potin, were one of the most important series of South India and some of the clay-moulds of these coins belonging to the first-second centuries A. D. have been reported by Yazdani which were intended for duplicaiing, by the casting process, Andhra coins.[4] Recently Shobhana Gokhale has published a very interesting terracotta coin-mould found from Paithan.[5] It contains three sockets for portraying coins of Yajñaśrī. The impressions reveal three different portraits of Yajñaśrī, viz. young, middle aged and old. According to her, these three moulds are in conformity with the Purāṇic and epigraphic evidences. Two coin sockets are joined by a channel for the molten metal. Besides this, a unique clay-mould has also bee reported from Nāgārjunikoṇḍā.

As we know, the Sātavāhana coins are die-struck and they were not minted by casting process. A close scrutiny of the published photographs of these moulds would reveal that the impression of the two busts is to the right, and at the same time one bust in the third socket is to the left, which evidently suggests it to be a forger's plant intended to cast silver coins of Yajñaśrī.

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[1] B. Sahni, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

[2] Yazdani, *ABORI*, XXII, pp. 171-35.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 171-35.

[4] *JNSI*, XLIII, pt. i. p. 58, pl. viii. 2.

[5] I. K. Sharma, *The Early Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire* (1980) p. 117.

VI

The Gupta age nodoubt was an age of numismatic brilliance in respect of metal, technique and workmanship; and the Gupta gold coins mark the hey-day of numismatic art. On account of their beauty and popularity these coins naturally fell victim to the nefarious designs of the ancient forgers. We have two clay-moulds from Rājghāṭ and one clay-mould was acquired for the Bhārata Kalā Bhawan which, according to V. S. Agrawala, "of the hundreds of Rājghāṭ finds......is somewhat unique, being a mould for casting archer type of coins of Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. It represents Lakṣmī seated facing on a lotus. The legend on the right margin reads : *Śrī Vikramaḥ*."[1] As the Gupta coins are die-struck, evidently this seems to be a forger's plant.

VII

The above survey, though brief, would clearly show how the forgers were active in ancient times, like their modern counter-parts, in preparing fake coins which have now created a problem for the modern numismatists. It would be interesting to know in this connection that the moulds, noted above, have been reported from almost all those sites which formed town-marts and trade-centres in early periods such as the Mālwā region represented by Sāñchī, Eraṇ and the Gangetic region represented by Mathurā; Rājghāṭ (Kāśī), Nālandā; Kaliṅga, etc. by Śiśupālagarh; the Āndhra region by Koṇḍapura; the Southern region by Paithan and the north-west region by Takshaśilā. As we know, coins played the most vital role in the development of trade and towns. The so-called forged coin-moulds, discussed above, also belong mostly to the period (1st-5th cent. A. D.) which witnessed tremendous growth of trade and towns in ancient India. The question therefore arises : did the minting forgery have any link with the developing trade ? In epigraphic and literary sources, the *Kārshāpaṇas* or the *Purāṇas* are referred to which definitely shows their popularity as currency. As the Kushāṇa age witnessed the peak of urbanisation in the Gangetic Valley, the Kushāṇa coins became so popular that even the *Mṛchchhakaṭika* makes a humorous reference to a mould for producing Kushāṇa type of coins when it described the dancing girl Vasantasenā as *nānaka-mushi* or "the mint of the gold coins".[1] The real significance of the term was, however, missed by the commentators when they interpreted it as 'one who steals coins'.[2] This statement evidently shows that the Kushāṇa gold coins were produced by a mould, obviously a forgers' plant, even during the fifth-sixth centuries A. D. The practice seems to have become more rampant after the disintegration of the Gupta power as the established mints also disintegrated with the inevitable consequence of the coinage of the north as well as of the south being thrown into confusion. The Hūṇa invasion gave it the last shattering blow,[3] affording golden opportunity to the forgers.

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[1] *JUPHS*, XIV pt. i, pp. 1-8, pts. I-IV; U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 133

A. S. Altekar was the first great numismatist to discuss the question of forgery in modern times. He has rightly pointed out that "in modern times the coin-dealers have prepared moulds from the genuine coins from which they forge their duplicates. The forged coins from moulds can be generally detected from the absence of the sharpness of outlines......Sometimes contiguous letters are also joined together".[4] He has published two gold coins of Huvishka which bear the effigy of Ahura Mazda on the reverse. One coin is preserved in the Patna University (AIHA Museum) and the other in the Patna Museum, the latter being a cast coin. It shows hazy and blurred nose, chin and cheek plate of the king. Further, the coin shows no signs of wear by use and is in fresh condition. It appears to have been prepared by a mould, obviously a forger's plant.[5] He has also published "twelve forged silver coins of the Kushāṇas".[6] As the "silver coins of the Kushāṇas are very rare, the temptation to forge them for extorting money is very great".[7] These coins belong to Wima Kadphises,

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[1] U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[3] For details, see U. Thakur, *The Hūṇas in India*, chap. VII.

[4] *JNSI*, XIV, p. 71.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

[6] *Ibid.*, XIV, pp. 34-40.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

Kanishka, Huvishka and Kaneshko. He suggests that these silver coins were probably forged from the moulds of gold coins, and bases his conclusions on the following features :

(i) the data about the relative gravity of gold and silver,

(ii) the weights of the coins being in conformity with the gold standard,

(iii) the air-bubbles being visible even in the photographs, and

(iv) the blunder committed by the engraver in engraving letters and legends.

The application of modern chemical method may help detect forgeries to a considerable extent. According to Caley, indications of forgeries may be obtained from (i) the structure or composition of corrosion products, (ii) the relation of the corrosion products to the underlying metal, and (iii) the composition of the metal itself. It is suggested that "when taken as a whole, the lack of characteristic structure, the absence of characteristic minerals and the presence of modern materials constitute clear proof that the corrosion products on a given object are not ancient, and when supported by other evidences may furnish a strong indication that the object is a complete forgery".[1]

The boundary between the corrosion products and metal in genuine coins is normally more or less diffuse or irregular, whereas in forgeries it is nearly always very very sharply defined. In forgeries, those products often take the form of a mere coating on clean and smooth metal. Internal corrosion of the metal immediately under the corrosion products is usual in ancient objects, including inpatinated ancient objects, but practically unknown in modern forgeries. The chemical composition of the metal may be indicative of forgery in various ways. The presencc of some modern metal, such as almunium, as a major component of an alloy, is of course a clear proof of forgery.

Recently H. C. Bharadwaj and S. Mishra, through chemical analysis of a gold punch-marked coin from Bhabhua (distt. Bhojpur, Bihar) have proved that it is not an authentic punch-marked coin : "On the basis of chemical composition, the alloying pattern, X-ray diffraction and radiography and metallographic examination we come to the conclusion that the features of the present coin are not compatible with the metallurgical techniques prevalent in the days of silver punch-marked coins".[1] Similarly, we suggest that the gold coins of Huvishka and twelve silver coins of the Kushāṇas regarded as modern forgery by Altekar should be thoroughly chemically examined before finally pronouncing them as products of the forger's plant.

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[1] Satya Prakash and Rajendra Singh, *Coinage in Ancient India*, p. 366.

VIII

The coin-moulds and the coin-dies, apart from throwing light on the technique employed, reveal the birth-place of the coin, for they never pass into circulation. While the coin, is peripatetic, the moulds and the dies are static. The latter have therefore a historical value of their own. The localities from which the coin-moulds have been found are generally regarded as old mint-sites. But at the same time it should not be ignored that the coin-moulds found at most of the places, noted above, were meant for manufacturing such coins whose actual specimens are not known to have been ever manufactured by casting process. While the punch-marked coins were made by stamping several punches on the metal flan, the Śaka, Kushāṇa and Gupta coins were produced through die-struck method. It is only the coins of the Yaudheyas of both the types, known from the moulds of Rohtak and Sunet, that were always moulded. Again, it is only at these two sites that moulds have been found in a considerable number. At other places, their finds are sporadic. As I have shown above, it is on this ground that some scholars believe that they might have been the apparatus of the fogers.[2] But, before making any such generalisation, we must try to find out positive evidence to dismiss all these moulds as forger's plants, which we do not have in the present state of our knowledge.

The smallness of their number can not be said to go against their genuineness and the discovery of even one mould is enough to suggest that the place must have constituted a mint-site in those days. And, so long as all the important sites are not scientifically excavated, it is unwise to pronounce such hasty judgement because it is likely that in future many more coins of this type may be found in those areas, throwing altogether a new light on the state of coinage during this peried.[1]

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[1] *JNSI*, XXXIV, p. 105.

[2] U. Thakur, *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 187-88.

Thus, a vast corpus of material from widely different sites will have to be gathered, and this corpus will have served its purpose if we follow the twin counsel of our classical historian Kalhaṇa who wishes that the presentation of the study of historical materials must be interesting and truthful. Any attempt to sidetrack the truth or to stress the wrong conclusion is doomed to failure and will result in nothing but a caricature. I may, therefore, conclude, in the words of Ranke that "those who would conceive antiquity superficially, flatly, sinfully, do so to their own condemnation. The inner-living spirit revenges itself because it was despised".

It is my fervent prayer that this inner-living spirit may guide and enlighten you and bless your deliberations.[2]

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[1] For a detailed study see U. Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India*, chap. IV.

[2] I am grateful to O. P. Singh for giving me valuable suggestions and help in the preparation of Address.

AN INSCRIBED GOLD PUNCH-MARKED COIN

O. P. SINGH

(Pl. I. 1.)

Inspite of literary references to gold punch-marked coins, their physical findings are extremely rare.[1] A. L. Basham referred to a gold punch-marked coin[2] but he has neither illustrated nor given the provenance of it. Two gold punch-marked coins were published by D. Upaphyaya and S.N. Chaturvedi.[3] Further one gold punch-marked coin from Bhabhua was chemically examined by H.C. Bhardwaj and S. Mishra who proved it as fake coins.[4]

Recently we have noticed a gold punch-marked coin which is in the collection os Parasottam Das Banker of Jaunpur. It was found from a village situated on the bank of Ghaghra, district Azamgarh. Its discription is as follows :

Shape : Oval
Weight : 6.400 gms.
Metal : Gold

Obverse : It shows a pellet surrounded by four semi-circles, *Śrīvatsa* symbols, *liṅga*, a pellet, arches, one reversed 'S' shaped symbol. These are large symbols. To the left of *liṅga*, a minute figure of elephant occurs. Below the pellet surrounded by semicircle Brāhmī letters arranged in a semicircle are *Ja*, *na*, *pū* and *ga*. Thus the legend is *Janapūga*.

Reverse : Blank.

(Pl. I. 1.)

The sides of the coin are cracked. It is punched only on one side. However, the general tendency of the present numismatists is that no credence should be given to gold punch-marked coins. Naturally the genuineness of the present coin may be doubted by the scholars. About four or five years ago, the present coin was shown to T. P. Verma and H. C. Bhardwaj. The letter was of the opinion that the coin was, probably, fabricated about 1000 years ago.

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[1] Numismatists, however, deny the existence of gold coins in pre-Christian era. See P. L. Gupta, *Coins*. p. 8. S. C. Ray in *JNSI*, XXX, p. 117.

[2] *Wonder That Was India*, p. 505.

[3] *JNSI*, XXXIV, pt. II, pp. 153-56.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 105.

If we subscribe that it is a product of forger's plant, the question, then arises whether it is ancient forgery or modern forgery? It is now generally held that the technique of casting coins proved a very useful device for the counterfeiters. In recent times, several moulds used in state-mints as well as in the ateliers of the counterfeiters have been discovered.[1] However, a close scruiteny of the coin reveals that it is not cast one. Further the suggestion of Bhardwaj that the coin was manufactured about 1000 years ago is untenable because the palaeographic features of the coin belong to beginning of the second century B. C. Moreover, the use of Brāhmī letters on the punch-marked coin seems to be beyond the imagination of the morden forger.

However, the best method to detect forgery is the application of modern chemical methods such as chemical composition, the alloying pattern, X-ray diffraction, radiography and metallographic examination. Therefore, we may humbly suggest that the present gold punch-marked coin should be thoroughly and chemically examined before pronouncing it a product of the forger's plant.

However, the legend on the present coin is certainly worthy of notice.[2] It reveals the following facts :

(i) The Brāhmī letters belong to the beginning of second century B. C.

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[1] For details See U. Thakur, *Mints And Minting in India*, Chapter III; B. Sahani, *Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, 1945, Bombay.

[2] K. D. Bajapi has referred to punch-marked coins of Mitra, Non-Mitra & Sātavāhana rulers etc. and Bhagila. These coins were found from Central India and Andhra Pradesh. They bear the legends written in Brāhmī. *Cf. JNSI*, 1979 p. 38 ff.

(ii) The word '*Janapūga*' suggests that the coin was minted by a guild (*pūga*) authorised by the state (*Jana)*. The frequent use of the term *pūga* as an economic organisation is available in legal literature of ancient India. The early character of this organization may be seen in the *Ashṭādhyāyī*.[1] Some coins like those of Taxilā and Kauśāmbī bearing the legends such as *negama*, *pañchanekama*, and *Gandhikānaṁ* justify to the fact that the several guilds issued the coins in early India.[2]

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1. V. 2.52; V. 3.112. For detailed study see J. Rai, *The Rural-Urban Economy And Social Changes In Ancient India*, p. 247 ff.
2. [It is difficult to share the views of the author that the coin bears a Brāhmī legend. To us it appears to be a symbol often found on punch-marked coins. T. P. V.].

PRAJĀPATI AKHYASYA : A NEW NAME IN KUṆINDA COINAGE

L. C. GUPTA

(Pls. I, II & III)

It is for the first time in the history of Kuṇinda coinage that the coins have been discovered with the name Prajapati Akhyasya. Forty such coins have been discovered from Ambala district (Haryana) the details of which have been described in this paper.

All the Kuṇinda coins discovered till now are known to fall in two main groups :

1. Amoghabhūti type
2. Chhatreśvara type

Amoghabhūti type coins, issued in about Ist century B.C., bear Brāhmī legend—"*Rājñaḥ Kuṇimdasya* (or *sa*) *Amoghabhūtisya* (or *sa*) *Mahārājasya* (or *sa*)" on the obverse, and, Kharoshṭhī legend—"*Raña Kuṇidasa Amoghabhūtisa Maharajasa*" on the reverse.

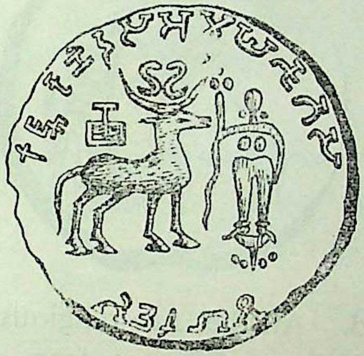
Chhatreśvara type coins were issued after the fall of Kushāṇa power (at the end of the 2nd century A. D. or beginning of the 3rd century A. D.) The Brāhmī legend on the obverse is : "*Bhagvata Chhatreśvara Mahatmanaḥ.*" Chhatreśvara has been identified with "Śiva". This later type series of Kuṇinda coinage does not bear the name of the king.

Forty Kuṇinda coins discovered from Ambala district, (Haryana) bear the Kharoshṭhī legend "*Prajapati Akhyasya*" on reverse. Some of them were minted in brass (**Pl. I, 2-7 Pl. II, 18, Pl. III. 1.**), some are steel coins (**Pl. III. 2-3 37 & 38**) and rest of the coins (**Pl. I. 8-18 and Pl. II. 1-17**) are of copper base, having a thick brass plating.

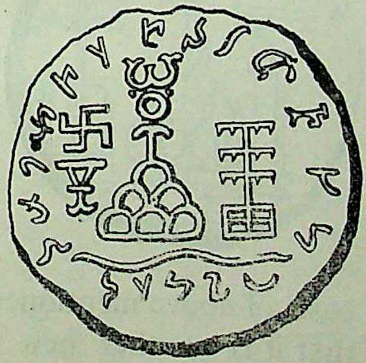
It is concluded on the basis of these coins (whose details are given below), that Amoghabhūti was a title, which means, "of unfailing prosperity." The noted historians like V. A. Smith and K. P. Jayaswal have also held same opinion.

King's real name (in author's opinion) was *Prajāpti Akhya(sya)*. So the meaning in Hindī of the whole script on obverse (in Brāhmī), is :—"Mahārāja Kuṇindarāja amogha (achūka) vaibhava vāle." On reverse (in Kharoshṭhī script), means :—"Mahārāja Kuṇindarāja Prajapti Nām Vāle."

Obverse : Deer to r.; female figure (? Lakshmi) standing (some-times on lotus) facing, holding flower in uplifted r. hand, legend in Brāhmī script "*Rājña Kuṇidasya Amoghbūtisa*, below, *Mahārājasa*".

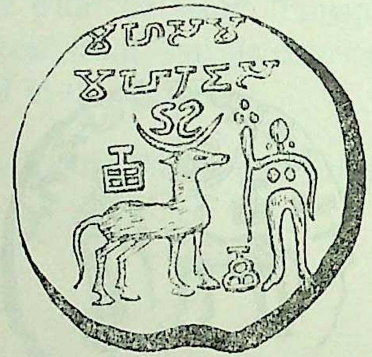


Reverse : Five relegious symbols, like "*Tree in railing*"[1], "*chaitya*", "*nandipad*", "*svastika*", "*jaydhwaja*" and legend in Kharoshṭhī script "*Raña Kuṇidasa Prajāpati Akhyasa*" (around) "*Maharajasa*" (below).

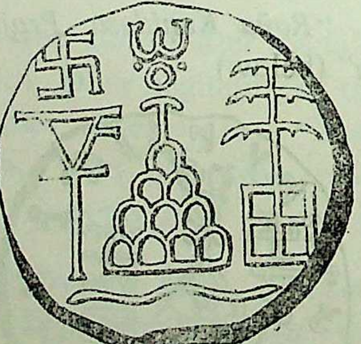


Details of Four Coins from Figure No. 35 to Figure No. 38 :

Obverse : Deer to r.; female figure (Lakshmi ?) standing facing, holding flower in uplifted r. hand, two symbols, one on the back and other in between the horns of the deer, third symbol (a small *chaitya*) in between the deer's and Lakshmī's feet. Script in two horizontal lines (in Brāhmī). In the first line the name of the king is *mahasamā*, i. e. "Maheśyam" and second line reads "Maharajasa". The name of the king (Maheśyam) could be read only on two coins *viz.*, figure 36 & 37, after great stress with the help of magnifying glass.



Reverse : No legend. All the five religious symbols are there, but two symbols are different from earlier explained 34 coins. These are *"chaitya & jayadhwaja"*.



It is certain, on the basis of above mentioned four coins (fig. 35 & 36 *brass*, fig. 37 & 38 *steel*) that it is another new name of a Kuṇinda king which has not so for come to light.

The last two coins (fig. no. 39 & 40, whose details are given below) have their own significance, though these are not relevant to above 38 coins.

Figure No. 39 :

Obverse : Deer to r.; *chaitya* on its back (a single die impression)

Reverse : Blank

Figure No. 40 :

Obverse : Deer to r.; no other figure and symbols; no script.

Reverse : All the five religious symbols, no script.

Conclusion :

It appears from the discovery reported in this article that Amoghabhuti was not the name of the king but it was a title, which means 'of unfailing prosperity'. The real name of the king seems to be "PRAJAPATI AKHYASYA".

Table showing weight (in grains), diameter (size) in mm. & metal.

Fig. No.	Wt. in grains	Dia. Size in mm	Metal	Fig. No.	Wt. in grains	Dia. Size in mm	Metal
1	121	21	Brass	21	135	21	As preceding
2	121	25	,,	22	153	23	,,
3	203	22	,,	23	145	23	,,
4	95	21	,,	24	87	22	,,
5	128	24	,,	25	170	23	2
6	110	20	,,	26	103	22	,,
7	116	23	Copper base, thick plating of Brass on each coin, from figure no. 7 to 34.	27	132	21	,,
8	150	20		28	148	22	,,
9	168	20		29	127	21	,,
10	205	25		30	111	20	,,
11	125	20		31	127	20	,,
12	160	20		32	129	21	,,
13	155	22		33	160	24	,,
14	160	23		34	145	20	,,
15	157	24		35	165	24	Brass
16	118	21		36	160	25	,,
17	153	19		37	175	24	Steel
18	176	22		38	149	21	,,
19	126	20		39	8	11×9 (Rect.)	Copper
20	144	22		40	25	16	,,

A NOTE ON SOME NEW COINS OF THE AUDUMBARAS AND THE YAUDHEYAS

DOLLY MUKHERJEE

(Pl. III. 6-10)

The present paper introduces for the first time two copper coins of the Audumbaras[1] and three copper coins of the Yaudheyas.[2] The coins may be described as follows :—

I Coins of the Audumbaras

(1) Reg. No. : C 16699
Weight : 2.733 gms.
Size : 1.5 × 1.5 cm.
Shape : Square.
Metal : Copper. **(Pl. III. 6)**

The obverse shows as usual a large leafy tree in railing with the forepart of an elephant appearing to right; and also the figure of a lion with tail upraised and a three-arched *chatiya* above to left which are not found on the other coins of the same type. Kharoshṭhi legend : *Raño Rudradasasa.*

The reverse depicts a square and single storied temple on a platform with low railing probably on all sides, consisting of a row of upright posts and horizontal rails on cross-bars. The square roof of the temple with rounded corners is supported by a row of short and round pillars (bulbous shape at the base, generally found in wooden pillars) is having broad and elongated base and rounded top (like a ball at the top of the pillars). The roof, having the similar railing pattern on the lintel as in the plinth is also surmounted by a convex circular top (probably dome) which is connected with a neck (or *beki*, according to Orissan terminology); above the convex circular top (or dome) there is a finial shaft consisting of rounded base and pointed top for holding a flag. A trident with axe to right and to left, Brāhmī inscription *'Odubarisa'* with an underlating line below, which is generally identified as river.

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[1] These coins are preserved in the coin-cabinet of the Indian Museum Calcutta. The Director, Indian Museum has kindly permitted me to publish the same in this paper.

[2] The coins of the Yaudheyas are in the collection of Dr. Roma Niyogi, formerly Head of the Department of History, Bethune College, Calcutta; who has kindly allowed me to study and publish these coins in this paper.

(2) Reg. No. C 16705.
Weight : 2.832 gms.
Size : 1.5 × 1.7 cm.
Shape : Square.
Metal : Copper. (Pl. III. 7)

पुस्तकालय
110112
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय हरिद्वार

Obverse : Same as No. (1) with Kharoshṭhī legend *Rudradasasa Oduba-(risa)*.

Reverse : Indistinct traces of a temple and trident with axe. Brāhmī letters not decipherable.

II The Coins of the Yaudheyas

(1) Weight : 7.677 gms.
Size : 2.3 × 2.3 cms.
Shape : Round.
Metal : Copper. (Pl. III. 8)

Obverse : Central device not legible. Fragmentary Brāhmi inscription only *Brahmanyadeva* (*sya*) legible.

Reverse : A deer with horn before a temple. The square temple surmounted by a pointed (thatched shape) arched roof with a triangle in the centre and above which a vase on left, *svastika* and some indistinct symbol.

(2) Weight : 7.8378 gms.
Size : 2.3 x 2.3 cms.
Shape : Almost square.
Metal : Copper. (Pl. III. 9)

The obverse shows a single headed deity (Kārtikeya), holding a spear in his right hand and an uncertain object with a square handle between the deity and spear in his hand. Left hand rests on the handle of a sword or staff. The head of the deity is shown with a peculiarly fashioned ornament (or stylized representation of six headed Kārtikeya) consisting of five globules at the top and the other two are hanging on either side of the face attached with bar-like objects. Brāhmī inscription on margin *brah...ku* is probably intended for *Svāmino Brahmaṇya devasya kumārasya.* This side of the coin appears to be a double struck piece so inscription and devices on both sides arranged in defective as well as in arbitrary order.

The reverse depicts a deer before a temple to left. The temple is erected on a base or plinth consisting of two parts placed one above the other and the roof is supported by a dome from centre of which rises a shaft decorated with a row of diamond shaped objects placed one above the other with pointed top for holding flag. To the right of the temple above a symbol[1] and to left, behind the deer there is a vase. The other symbols are indistinct.

(3) Weight – 5.075 gms.
Size – 2.1 x 2.1 cms.
Shape – Round.
Metal – Copper. **(Pl. III. 10)**

Obverse : As on cion No. 2, a single headed deity (Kārtikeya) standing to front with spear in his right hand and the left hand rests on the handle of a sword or staff. The deity wears head ornaments and an uncertain object with square handle between the deity and the spear in his hand, like the coin No. 2.

Reverse : Depicts similar temple with a deer in front of it in dotted border. A vase with foliage above the deer to right and a *Śrīvatsa* symbol to left.

Practically the devices on the obverse and reverse of the coins No. 2 and 3 are the same.

But so far as the general appearance of the temple on coin No. 3 is concerned, specially the high terraced platform consisting of three demarcatidg stages of construction, more delicate and well proportioned composition of the building shows definite mark of advenced architectonic knowledge on the part of the builders and also indicates better artisanship of a skilled die-maker. The temple on both the coins (Nos. 2 and 3) appear to be circular in shape and wholly of stone.

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[1] Looks like an old *Śrivatsa* symbol of the Jains. However, this symbol is considered to be an auspicious symbol associated with the Vaishaṇava sect and worshipped with goddess Lakshmi. Even now-a-days it is, worshipped as foot prints of goddess Lakshmi.

NEW VARIETIES OF THE AUDUMBARA COINS

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

(Pl. IV. 1-5)

Recently my friend, J. Lingen of Bergambacht, the Netherlands, has acquired some Audumbara coins of which four are struck in silver. Photographs of these pieces, kindly supplied by him, have revealed them to be the issues of the Audumbara chief, Mahādeva. They belong to the 'Bull : Elephant' variety, bearing the usual Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends on their obverse and reverse sides respectively. But as will be seen below, all these fours coins differ from the pieces which I have described and illustrated in my book,[1] and thus they represent new varieties. However, with the kind permission of Lingen I am publishing these coins. They are described below.

Variety A

Weight : 2.35 gms.

Size : 16.5 mm.

Obverse : Bull to right. A circle with a centre point and 13 dots around in front of the bull. Legend in Kharoshṭhī : *Bhagavatamahadevasa* (around) *Rajarañа* (below).

Reverse : Elephant to right holding an *aṅkuśa* (or a twig ?). A combined trident-battle-axe symbol. Legend in Brāhmī : *Bhagavatamahādevasa* (around) *Rājarāja* (below).

(Pl. IV. 1)

This specie differs from the two coins which I have described and illustrated in my book.[2] Of them the first belongs to the British Museum collection, while the second to the collection of Lingen. However, on both these pieces, as on the present one, the bull stands to right, but the elephant stands to left. Here is the notable difference and hence this coin constitutes a new variety. Further, the symbol before the bull in the present instance is a circle with dots around, whereas on the published specie it is a lotus. Another interesting feature is a dot below *ma* indicative of the aspirate character of the letter concenrned. This is the only instance of the repertory of indigenous coins to my knowledge which displasys the care of the die-engraver, in putting the legend linguistically correct. And above all, this is one of the very few indigenous pieces which shows numismatic art at its best, particularly in respect of the depiction of the bull and the execution of letters.

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[1] *A Tribal History of India : A Numismatic Approach*, *Calcutta*, 1974, pp. 46, 306, Pls. I, 23, IX, 24y.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. I, 23; Pl. IX, 24y.

Variety B

Weight : 2.25 gms.
Size : 17.0 mm.

Obverse : Same. The circle with a centre point, is surrounded by 15 dots. Besides, there is a *vāṁāvarta svastika* above the bull, it being on the left of the hump of the animal. Legend same.

Reverse : Same. Legend same. **(Pl. IV. 2.)**

This specie differs from the previous piece in two respects. *First*, the circle symbol before the bull is surrounded by 15 instead of 13 dots. *Second*, it has an additional symbol. *viz*., a *svastika* which is absent in the previous coin. The hitherto published coins of the Lingen collection[1] bear in each case a *svastika*, no doubt, but it appears on the right side of the hump of the bull and in one instance[2] the bull stands to the left. The present coin is relatively corroded on the obverse, and the depiction of the elephant on its reverse is aesthetically impressive.

Variety C

Weight : 2.25 gms.
Size : 18.0 mm.

Obverse : Same. A lotus in front of the bull. Legend same.

Reverse : Same. The combind trident-battle-axe symbol is seemingly connected with the line seen below the elephant. Legend same. **(Pl. IV. 3)**

The obverse of this coin does not carry a *svastika* above the bull, as seen on the previous piece as well as on the two coins of the Lingen

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1. *Op. cit.* Pl. IX, 24 x—24 y.
2. *Ibid.*, 24 x.

collection, already published. In this respect it is similar to the coin of Variety A, described above, as well as to the British Museum piece.[1]

Variety D

Weight : 2.30 gms.
Size : 16.5 mm.

Obverse : Same. A lotus in front of the bull. Also a symbol (an upturned vase or a *yonipīṭha* ?). Legend same.

Reverse : Same, but the elephant faces left. Legend same.

(Pl. IV. 4)

With regard to the position of the elephant on the reverse, this coin differs from the others described above and is similar to the four coins, two of the British Museum and two of the Lingen collections, which have already been published.[2] Besides, on this coin the elephant does not hold the *aṅkuśa* as on other coins, but carries some unidentified objects by its trunk, which is raised to its mauimum. The shape of the battle-axe, connected with the trident, is also different from its counterparts on other coins. So far as the obverse side is concerned, the most interesting symbol that draws our attention is the symbol above the bull. It may be either an upturned vase or the *yonipīṭha* of a Śivaliṅga. The latter is not unexpected on a coin which carries the figure of a bull on its obverse and the combined trident-battle-axe on its reverse and the word *Mahādeva* on both of its sides. If this symbol is identified with the *yonipīṭha* it would be the earliest plastic representation of the same. In any case, the symbol in question is unique, so far being not encountered on any coin, indigenous as well as foreign.

The total number of coins of the Audumbara chief Mahādeva thus become eight, of which two belong to the collection of the British Museum and the rest two to the collection of Lingen. On the basis of the position of the bull and elephant, they are divided into four varieties :—Bull to right : Elephant to left, Bull to right : Elephant to right and Bull to left : Elephant to left. They may be further subdivided into four sub-varieties on the basis of ancillary symbols—Bull with a circle of dots, Bull with a lotus, Bull with a *svastika* and Bull with an exotic symbol **(Pl. IV. 5)**, as noted above. Among the minor variations mention may be made of the position of *svastika*, which in one example appears on the right side of the hump of the bull while in the other on the left of the animal.

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[1] *Op. cit*. Pl. I. 23.
[2] *Ibid*., Pl. I. 23, 26; Pl IX, 24 x, 24 y.

Being in a good state of preservation, sometimes in a mintfresh condition, the coins have enabled us to obtain a better gilmpse of the devices, motifs and legends on them. Aesthetically they are impressive and represent the indigenous numismatic art at its best. Look at, for instance, the obverse of the first coin of our discussion. The format is round, space limited, but the artist has ably composed his design. Apart from the neat and competent lettering, the artist has brought out the figure of the bull clearly and realistically, dissolving the conflict between the flat surface and three-dimensional extension; the bull is standing on earth with its full weight, quite and dignity. The figure of the elephant on the reverse of the second coin is also artistically conceived and sensitively rendered. Secondly, by conspicuously carrying the epithets *bhagavata* and *rajaraja* on them, these new pieces, along with the earlier ones, have established on a firmer footing my theory that the word *Mahādeva* stands for the name of an Audumbara chief, and is not a title as suggested by some, and that these monetary issues of Mahādeva cannot be attributed to the Vemakas, one of whose silver coins *viz*., the only silver coin issued by their chief Rudravarma[1] bears affinity with the former. But the most interesting and significant feature has been demonstrated by the second and the third examples of our discussion : they are linked with each other by common reverse dies, thereby showing that they were manufactured not only in the same period, but also at the same mint or workshop. Ancient die-links are very rare and thus these pieces are valuable additions to the numismatic repertoire of ancient India. Indeed, they have underlined the importance of making a comparative study of the dies of the montary issues of a particular king or chief as well as those of the coins of contemporary or near-contemporary kings or chiefs of different dynasties or communities. Such a study, which has not yet been made, is expected to yield fruitful results, particularly in determining the chronological sequence of early Indian coins, indigenous as well as foreign.

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[1] *Op. cit*,. p. 183 ff.

AN INTERESTING SCYTHO–PARTHIAN COIN

B. N. MUKHERJEE

(Pl. IV. 6)

G. Le Rider pubished some years ago a hoard of 29 Scytho-Parthian coins found in the Swat region of Pakistan.[1] The hoard contained 29 silver tetradrachms struck on the weight standard introduced by the Indo-Greeks in certain areas (including the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent) situated to the south-east of the Hindu-Kush and followed there by their Scytho-Parthian successors.[2]

Of the twenty-nine coins recovered from the hoard concerned, sixteen pieces, bearing Zeus on the obverse and winged Nike on the reverse, belong to the Indo-Scythian monarch Maues. Twelve pieces, displaying a mounted male on one side and Zeus with a sceptre and a thunderbolt on the other, can be attributed to the Parthian or Scytho-Parthian rulers Vonones and Spalahora.

The remaining silver coin is an interesting one. It weighs 9.6 gms. It can be described as follows :

Obverse : An enthroned female sitting three-fourth to right (*i.e.* to her left) with a sceptre (?) in her left hand with her right arm stretched out towards right (*i.e.* to her left); an inscription in the Greek language and script can be noticed on the obverse; it may be read as (VII) *Basilisses Theotropou* (in exergue) *Machenes*. (Pl. IV. 6)

Reverse : Zeus standing to left (*i.e.* to his right) holding a long sceptre in his left hand and winged Nike on his outstretched right hand; a monogram is noticable in the lower left field. A Prākrit legend in the Kharoshṭhī (or Kharoshṭī) script appears on the reverse; it can be read as (IV) *Rajatirajasa Mahatasa Moasa*. (Pl. IV. 6)

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[1] G. Le Rider, "Monnaise de Taxila et d' Arachosie, une nouvelle reine de Taxila", *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 1967, Vol. LXXX, pp. 331f.

[2] B. N. Mukherjee, *The Pāradas-A Study in Their Coinage and History*, pp. 11f.

The royal name *Moa* on the reverse reminds us of the Indo-Scythian king of the same name. In fact, typologically the coin concerned can be connected with a class of drachms of Moa or Maues, displaying an enthroned female on obverse and Zeus Nikephoros on reverse.[1]

The obverse inscription of the coin in question, however, does not mention Moa or Maues. It refers to a queen (*basilissa*) called *Machen*(*es*). G. Le Rider thinks that the first letter of the queen's name can be read also as *N*. But such a hypothesis is unnecessary. The letter *mu* of *Machenes* is written in that name in the same way as it is done in the legend on several coins of Maues.[2] Machenes is also described in the coin-legend in question as *theotropos* meaning "one having divine manner or way (or way of life)". Thus the obverse inscription on the coin concerned can be translated as "of Queen Machen, (who has) divine manner (or way of life)".[3]

The legend has a distinct similarity with the obverse inscription of two classes of coins of the Indo-Greek queen Agathocleia. These pieces bear the legend *Basilisses Theotropou Agathokleias* on the obvers and the inscription *Maharajasa Tratarasa Dhramikas Stratasa* on the reverse. Same inscriptions (excepting the word *Theotropou*) are noticeable on another class of specie of queen Agathocleia. The names of Strata (or Strato) and Agathocleia occur in both the obverse and reverse legends of a class of specie which, however, attribute royal title to Strato only and not to Agathocleia. Her name appears on the obverse without any royal title on specimens of another variety of coins which display the name of Strato (or Strata) with royal titles both on the obverse and reverse. There are also great number of well-executed coins bearing the name of Strato, inscriptions on which do not at all refer to Agathocleia.[4]

A comparative study of these series of coins indicates a gradual loss of importance of Agathocleia and a corresponding rise of that of Strato in the administration of the Indo-Greek territory ruled by them. Agathocleia, only whose name occurs as a queen in two varieties of above noted coin-legends in Greek (which language and script must have been to the Indo-Greeks more important than Prākrit and Kharoshṭhī or Kharoshṭī), should have played a definite part in the administration of the kingdom at the time of striking of the relevant coins. So Agathocleia was at least for some time a regent or a co-ruler (and not the mere wife of ruling or dead king).[1]

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[1] R. B. Whitehead, *Catatogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, (henceforth *PMC*) Vol. I, p. 98, Pl. X, no. 4.

[2] *PMC*, Vol. I, Pl. X, nos. 13 and 16.

[3] H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, reprint, 1961, pp. 310, 791 and 1827.

[4] *PMC*, Vol. I, pp. 49 and 52-53; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, pp. 72-74 and 174f.

The same observation may be valid for the position of Queen Machenes at the time of striking the coins bearing her name as well as the name of the Indo-Scythian king Maues, whose coinage betray strong influence of the Indo-Greek monetary system. G. Le Rider takes her as the wife of Maues.[2] One may also consider her as the consort of the father of Maues or of any other senior member of his family or even as a princess of his house. Whatever might have been her family relationship with Maues, her position for at least some time was that of an actual ruler, as a co-ruler or as a regent. Mere marital relationship with Maues would not have necessitated the appearance of the name of queen (without being accompanied by that of her husband) in the Greek coin-legend.

It is interesting to note that square forms of *omicron* and *sigma* occur in the Greek legend of the coin concerned. These features, which are noticeable in post-Maues Scytho-Parthian coinage of India,[3] are very rare in coin-legends of Maues.[4] Hence the occurrence of square *sigma* and *omicron* in the Greek legend on the coin of Machenes may date it to the closing period of the reign of Maues. One may even argue that Machenes might have struck this piece sometime after the end of the rule of Maues. She could have imitated the relevant types and reverse legend from a class of coins of Maues current even after his death, just like the Kushāṇa king Kujula Kadphises later copied imitations of coins bearing the name of king Hermaeus.[5] In that case, Machenes was a ruler of post-Maues period. However, since her coin has been discovered in a hoard yielding regular coins of Maues and of Vonones and Spalahora, she might not have flourished much, if at all, later than the time of Maues or Vonones, who ruled in the first half of the 1st century B. C.[1] So Machenes was in any case a queen of the Scytho-Parthian period of history of the north-western section of the Indian subcentinent.

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[1] See also E. J. Rapson (editor), *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, pp. 552-553; *Nimismatic Chronicle*, 1947, pp. 33-34. and 44-45.

[2] G. Le Rider, *Op. cit.*, p. 339.

[3] J. E. Van Lohuizen De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 378.

[4] See *PMC*, Vol. I, Pl. X, no. 32 for a square *omicran*.

[5] *PSCH*, pp. 976.

The name *Machenes* may have been of Iranian origin. It may be related to *māh* (<*māha*), denoting *inter alia* "moon", and may be compared, as pointed out by A. D. H. Bivar, with the modern Persian name for female like *Māhin*, literally meaning "(beautiful) like the moon".[2]

The coin of Machenes, bearing Zous Nikephoros on the reverse, can be typologically attributed to the mint of Taxila.[3] Hence her kingdom included Taxila.

It appears that Machenes was a Indo-Scythian or Scytho-Parthian ruler of *inter alia* the Taxila area for some time in about the first half of the 1st century B. C. If she flourished in the period of Maues and had family relationship with him, she was at the time of striking of the coin concerned his regent or co-ruler. From these points of view, the coin published by G. Le Rider is very important to the students of the history of Scytho-Parthian activities in the Indian subcontinent.[4]

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[1] B. N. Mukherjee, *An Agrippan Source-A Study in Indo Parthian History*, pp. 89, 180 and 198.

[2] G. Le Rider, *Op. cit.*, p. 341, n. 1; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar Text Lexicon*, 2nd edition, p. 203; C. Bartholomae, *Altranisches Worterbuch*, col. 1170; Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch*, s. v.

[3] *ASSIPH*, pp. 169-170.

[4] A number of rudely-executed debased silver coins display a diademed bust on the obverse and armed Athena hurling thunderbolt on the reverse. The reverse inscription on them refers to two rulers called Strata (Strato). These coins influenced a variety of specie minted by the Scytho-Parthian satrap Rājuvula towards the end of the 1st century A. D. (*ASSIPH*, pp. 145 and 252; B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and its Society*, p. 18, n. 41 and p. 232). Apparently the Strato coins referred to here had been in regular circulation in a territory conquered by Rājuvula. This inference may tend to place the two rulers called Strato in about the second half of the 1st century B. C. In that case, strato of Agathocleia--Strato coinage should have been different from either of the rulers called Strato, whose coins influenced Rājuvula. Since the obverse legend of the coin of Machences, who ruled in about the first half of the lst century B. C. betrays impact of the obverse legend of two varieties of Agathocleia-Strato coinage. Strato, associated with Agathocleia, should have flourished before c. lst century B.C. He may perhaps be placed in the second half of the lst century B.C. This line of reasoning supports the theory advocating the historicity of three Indo-Greek rulers called Strato (*East and West*, 1957, Vol. VIII, p. 66, n. 14; A.N. Lahiri, *Op. cit.*, p. 183).

FOUR SĀTAVĀHANA COINS FROM UJJAIN

B. MURALIDHAR REDDY

The most valuable coin-cabinet of V. S. Vakankar, Bharati Kala Bhavan, Ujjain contains four coins of later Sātavāhanas of which I am presenting details with his kind permission. These are important and unique findings from Ujjain for the history of the Sātavāhanas. I have been informed by Vakankar that these coins are from surface collection and picked up from the old ruins of ancient Ujjain, around Gaḍkalika area.

These four coins are of three different metals; two made of copper, one is of silver and the remaining one is of potin. They may belong to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi respectively. Among these, silver portrait and potin specimen deserves special mention, because of its first time discovery at Ujjain. All these coins are in good state of preservation except a small breakage in the silver and potin specimes. The details are as follows :

1. Copper; Circular; 1.5 cm; wt. 3.669 gms.

   Obverse : Standing elephant to right with upraised trunk upto the forehead, Ujjain symbol over the back of the elephant-front 'Ma'kar, traces of possible letters but illegible.

   Reverse : Tree in railing, seven branches with the leaves like *pipal* leaf.

2. Copper; Circular; 1.6 cm.; Wt. 3.455 gms.

   Observe : Standing well-executed stout elephant facing right with upraised trunk upto forehead, above the back Ujjain symbol, left to it Brāhmī letter *ta* is clear. In front of animal traces of *śrīvatsa*, legend not clear.

   Reverse : Traces of tree in railing as on No. 1.

It is noticeble that the elephant on second coin appears just stouter than on first coin and *śrīvatsa* symbol replaced by 'Ma'kar.

It is difficult to assign these coins to a particular king as they provide insufficient information. But obviously these two specimens may be taken to have been issued by one of the Sātavāhana rulers as there are few similar types found in Maharashtra[1] and elsewhere. There is one specie from Ujjain[2] published long back by H. V. Trivedi which has close affinity with the above coins both on obverse and reverse. The square lead coin discussed by Trivedi was attributed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi by I. K. Sarma.[3] These specimens may tentatively be assigned to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi on the basis of present state of knowledge.

Vakankar is of opinion that the Ujjain symbol is closely associated with the Sātavāhana coinage in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh and its depiction on Ujjain coins is indication of either direct Sātavāhana rule in Mālwa, allied treaty, suzerainty or the impact of Sātavāhana imperial power.

The tree in railing of this particular type is very common to Sātavāhan thick coins from Ter and Brahmapuri.[4]

3. Silver; Circular; 1.6 cm; Wt. 1.666 gms.

Obverse : Profile bust of the king facing to right, ringlet hair (curly hair) with a flower-like crest jewel in the centre of his forehead, smaller but prominent eyes, acquiline nose, thick lips—the lower one is somewhat bent and more thicker, fatty cheeks, long distended ear has a ring and anchor type pendent touching the shoulder, legend clear in Brāhmī extant from I to IV *Vāsiṭhiputasa* and at VIII *siri pu* visible only in lower part of the letters.

Reverse : Crescented Ujjain symbol to left and six arched hill surmounted by a crescent to right, between these two (faint traces of) rayed sun symbol on top and beneath a wavy line indicative of a river, circular legend in Brāhmī starting at XII *Arahaṇaku Vāhiṭṭimākanaku tiru* (*Puḍumāvī*) *uk*.

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[1] Sarma, I. K., *Coinage of Sātavāhana Empire*, 1980, pp. 203-205.

[2] *JNSI*, XIII, p. 210, Pl. XI-11.

[3] Sarma, I. K., *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

[4] *Ibid.*

As such the Sātavāhana silver portrait coins are extremely rare; so far only five[1] specimens of Vāsisṭhiputra Puḷumāvi are reported from different sites of Sātavāhana empire. The present coin stands in the sixth position and the credit of yielding three coins out of six goes to central India, Mālwa in particular. It's discovery for the first time at Ujjain significantly offers a unique evidence and is worth notable for the history of later Sātavāhanas.

On the obverse, the upper right corner (from the top of the head to forehead) is broken which covers the crest jewel (still some traces are visible) on the forehead and the first three letters starting at XII O'clock probably *Raño* and *Va* (right side part is visible). The following legend on right side is very clear...*siṭhiputasa*. On the left the legend starts at VIII O'clock. Only the lower parts of the initial three letters *Si ri Pu* .... are clear, and the remaining letters are out of flan. The complete legend may be restored with certainity on the basis of so far published coins as *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Puḷumāvisa.*

The present royal bust portrait specie differs from portraits of two other coins so far found at Bhilsa and Indore in Mālwa. It has close resemblance with the portrait coin found at Hyderabad. In this specimen it is observed that the face of the king appears somewhat elongated and the front line of the ear touches pendent ring whereas on Hyderabad coin the front line of the ear touches pendent directly. The Indore coin has the similar discrepence as well as the position of the nose and shape of the lower lip is also note worthy. With regard to Hyderabad coin Ajaya Mitra Shastri[2] has rightly pointed out that the profile bust of the king Puḷumāvi appears older than on his own coin found at Bhilsa. In these circumstances, probably, this coin, chronologically, may be placed a little earlier than the Hyderabad specie and will be a third portrait type of king Puḷumāvi from Mālwa. The dotted border is absent or out of flan on both sides as seen in other coins.

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[1] Bhilsa, *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 1-3, pl. I, 1-2; Indore, *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*, iii, p. 6; Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pp. 12-16, Pl. I-4; Nasik, *AS.*, III (Mysore) 1978, pp. 12-13, pl. I-3; Paithan, *AS*, III p. 15-Details not given (I. K. Sarma, *Op. cit.* p. 277).

[2] *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 18. Similarly Dinakar Rao also holds the same opinion, *cf. JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 13.

The symbols on the reverse are same as found on other portrait coins. Two orbs (right and top) of the Ujjain symbol, surmounted crescent and the rayed sun symbol are faint. Unfortunately the legend of the king Puḍumāvi was cut through by the breakage, luckily the lower parts of the letters are preserved upto some extent. With the help of these lower parts and sequance of letters from VIII to XI may be visualised by comparing the legend on other coins. It is probable to restore the legend satisfactorily as *Arahaṇaku Vāhiṭṭimākanaku tiru Puḍu (lu) māviku*. The heads of the letters *Ku Arahaṇaku Va* are out of flan. On the above grounds the specie may be inevitably assigned to Vāsishṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, son of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi. It is worthy of notice that the weight of the coin is comparatively lesser than other specimens of the same king.

The language of the reverse legend is southern and characters Dravidian as pointed out by different learned scholars. Recently I.K. Sarma has suggested that the language is old Telugu that too in the *Ragada* metre, a purely *desi* type depending on *mātrā (chhandas)*.[1]

Dinakar Rao[2] has pointed out that the bilingual and biscriptual coins were issued for the circulation both in the northern and southern parts of the Sātavāhana kingdom. According to A. M. Shastri,[3] Puḷumāvi probably issued these portrait coins after occupying central India (Mālwa) to show his supermacy and to differentiate his portrait coins from those of the Kshatrapas,[4] by introducing his own native language on the reverse for the local people of the region. The same specimens must have been released for circulation even in his home land.

The three different type portrait coins of Puḷumāvi may reveal his continuous penetration into Mālwa even after his father Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and the silver portrait coins may also be useful for the study of economic factor of the region under the Sātavāhana dynasty.

4. Potin; Circular; 1.9 cm; wt. 3.584 gms.

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[1] Sarma, I.K. *Op. cit.* p. 118.

[2] *JNSI*, XXXVIII, p. 14.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

[4] *Ibid.*, XI, p. 15.

Obverse : Standing elephant facing to right with its trunk uplifted and jewelled neck; on its back legend in Brāhmi characters starting at VIII O'clock : *Siri Sātakaṇi.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

It is the first of its kind and well preserved specie found at Ujjain. So far few similar types have been reported from south India. This coin with its Brāhmī script has close affinity with the Hyderabad specie of Vāsisṭhiputra Sātakarṇi.[1] But it is of potin whereas Hyderabad coin is of copper and also appears somewhat different in the form of elephant. It may be a local variant.

The first letter of the legend *Si* is half out of flan and the second letter *ri* is half cut through by the breakage. The following letters are very clear and show a developed form of later Sātavāhana script. However, it is not possible to assign this coin to a particular king with the present information, but it may be tentatively assigned to Vāsisṭhiputra Sātakarṇi of Kanheri inscription and it is reasonable to mention that this specie adds some numismatic evidence to the historical fact recorded in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman.[2]

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[1] Sarma, I.K., *Op. cit.* p. 235, pl xiii—B 55.

[2] Sircar, D.C., *Sel. Ins.*, p. 175, No. 67. I am extremely grateful to V.S. Wakankar for his kind permission to publish these coins and for his valuable suggestions. Also thanks are due to K. Srinivasulu, Dept. of Chemistry, Vikram University, Ujjain for his help in weighing the coins and their chemical cleaning.

A QUARTER STATER OF KANISHKA

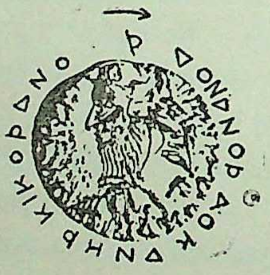
T. P. VERMA

(Pl. IV. 7)

Recently a (gold) quarter stater of Kanishka was reported by Sri Ram Rup Gupta of Jaunpur. It was recovered by a farmer in Salvan tahsil of Raibareilly district of U. P. A brief description of the coin is as follows :

Metal : Gold
Size : Not recorded
Shape : Round
Weight : 2 gms. (about 32 grs.)

Obverse : Bearded head of the king to left. Locks of hair falling behind the head. Perhaps flames are rising from his shoulders. The legend in Bactrian script starting from XII (behind the head of the king) reads *shao nano shao kaneshki koshano*, *i. e.* Great King of Kings Kanishka, the Kushāṇa.[1]



Reverse : Four handed Śiva standing facing with head to left, holding in right upper hand '*vajra*' (thunderbolt), in lower right hand a water vessel with mouth downwards, in upper left hand a trident ? (at least the hand is raised in a manner to hold something and a line is to be seen which can be taken to be a trident), while the lower left hand is resting at the hip from which hangs the skin of antelope. He seems to wear armlets and wristlets. As lower garment he is wearing *dhotī* while upper part of the body appears to be bare. Vertical legend in the right field *oesho* and four pronged symbol in the left field below the lower right hand of the deity. This whole motif is enclosed within a border of beads.

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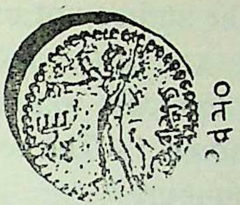
[1] The author of thankful to Dr. Joe Cribb for his help in reading this legend.



Quarter staters of the Kushāṇas are comparatively rare. This denomination of gold coins was issued by Wima Kadphises,[1] Kanishaka,[2] Huvishka,[3] and Vāsudeva.[4] We know about five varieties in the British Museum : 2 Athsho type, 1 Nanashao type, 1 Ordaxo type and two Oesho type. Our newly reported coin adds to the last variety. Of the two Oesho type coins in the British Museum, on one[5] king's full standing figure is to be seen while on the other one[6] his bust is depicted. But on our coin king's head is to be found. In this respect this coin is unique. So far no coin of Kanishka (or any other Kushāṇa king) is known to me which depicts king's head so prominently. His downward pointing nose, large eyes, broad forehead, neatly combed beards, slightly open lips and the prominent wart on the left cheek; all give a considerable faithful picture of king's personality. This presents the picture of a graceful middle aged man full of vigour and zeal. All is shown so prominently, in such a limited space, that the viewer cannot fail to recognise the powerful and impressive personality of Kanishka. In this respect the Kushāṇa artist can conveniently be compared with the artists of the Indo-Greek coins who are recognised for their realistic portraitures. With this coin in mind if we examine the face of Kanishka on his other coins, whether bust or standing, a marked similarity is to be seen there. In other words if his face is enlarged and examined one cannot fail to recognise the king by face. In our examination of his face on different coins a definite sign of different ages can be noticed and this fact again testifies to the superb skill of the Kushāṇa artists.

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[1] BMC., *Greek & Scythic Kings of Bacteria & India*, (Reprint 1971). p. 126 No. 10.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 130, No. 12; p. 131, No. 24; p. 132, Nos. 28, 31, 32 & 33.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 137, Nos. 13, 17; p. 139, No. 31; p. 142, Nos. 50, 51; p. 143, Nos. 60, 61; p. 144, Nos. 68, 69, 70; p. 149, No. 144; p. 152, No. 131.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 160, Nos. 17, 18.

[5] *Ibid*., pl. XXVI. 13.

[6] *Ibid*., pl. XXVI. 17.

Sarojini Kulashreshtha has published this coin in the *Numismatic Digest*[1] of December 1981 issue which has reached the subscribers late in October 1982. In her article the author not only seems to be misinformed but also confused. I am not aware of the story which she narrates about the coin but it is not true that the coin was sold and that 'Thus the where abouts of the coin are not known'.[2] The coin as far as I know, is still with Sri Ram Rup Gupta of Jaunpur.

Her contention is not true that 'bust-type Kushāṇa coins are known to have been issued only by two rulers Vima Kadphises and Huvishka.'[3] But, however, she admits that only one quarter-stater of Kanishka exists in the British Museum. This again is not true. As we have discussed earlier there are three quarter staters of Kanishka and two of these bear king's bust on the obverse.[4] The first one (*BMC*, Pl. XXVI. 16) has Athsho on the reverse (which she has quoted), and the other one (*BMC*, Pl. XXVI. 17) has Oesho as reverse device, and this was ignored by her. The strange thing is that she has made it a point to express her sceptic view about this coin. When she says that 'not only the portrait is distinctly different, but the reverse divinity is also different'[5] she obviously expresses her doubts about the acceptibility of this coin as a genuine one. But this cannot be accepted because as the other bust-type coin of Kanishka has *Oesho* as the reverse device. Our coin is, perhaps, the fourth quarterstater of Kanishka, the third one in the series of his bust-type coins; and the second bust-type coin with *Oesho* as the reverse device.

She again feels difficulty in accepting it as a genuine coin of Kanishka because of the fact that the portrait-head does not resemble any head depicted on the coins of Kanishka.'[6] But this statement seems to be based on inadequate observation of the face of Kanishka on his coins by the author. There is marked similarity in the face of the king not only in these portrait coins but also in his full sized figures. However, on the present specie slight enlarged face of the king may be seen. One will be wonderstruck with similarity of the faces of Kanishka on majority of his coins. And for this the Kushana arists should be given credit and appreciations. There are, of course, some of his full sized figures where the king's face appears in sufficiently advanced age. On some coins the face seems to be blurred. But many coins give very clear picture, and one cannot fail to recognise the points of similarities. As regards the heads on his portrait coins the only difference between the British Museum coin and our coin is that the head of the king is slightly tilted backward in the former set while in this new coin the head is almost held in straight position. There is no difference in combing style but there seems a slight difference in the trimming style of the beard. But the general features of the face, including the prominent wart on the left cheek, are strickinly similar. Undoubtly this is a genuine and unique quarter stater of Kanishka and, perhaps, the only Kushāṇa coin which has a head, not a bust of the king.

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[1] Vol. V, Pt. II, December, 1981, pp. 23-24.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[3] *Ibid.*, P. 24.

[4] *BMC*, p. 132, Nos. 31, 32; Pl. XXVI. 17 & 17.

[5] *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. V, pt II. December, 1981 p. 24.

[6] *Ibid.*

त्रिपुरी से प्राप्त सेनवंशी शासकों के सिक्के और मृण्मुद्राएँ

वीणा मिश्रा

(Pl. V.)

त्रिपुरी के उत्खननों में (1967-71 ई०) सेनवंशी शासकों के नौ सिक्के और दो मृण्मुद्राएँ प्राप्त हुई हैं। सिक्कों के स्तरीय विभाजन के आधार पर कह सकते हैं कि इस वंश के शासकों ने बोधिवंशी शासकों के पश्चात् शासन किया। सातवाहन शासकों के समान इन शासकों के नाम के पूर्व राजोपाधि का प्रयोग नहीं हैं। इसलिए ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि इस वंश के शासकों ने सामन्तीय नरेश के रूप में त्रिपुरी के छोटे से भू-भाग पर शासन किया, जहाँ उनको अपने नाम के सिक्कों को जारी करने का अधिकार प्राप्त था।

सेनवंशी शासकों के अधिकांश सिक्के बोधि-सिक्कों के अनुकरण पर ढले हैं। बोधियों की मृण्मुद्राओं पर "महाराज" उपाधि मिलती हैं। सेनवंशी शासकों ने इस प्रकार के किसी भी सम्मान-सूचक शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं किया है।

महासेन की मृणमुद्रा पर प्राप्त लेख (सिंहसेन पौत्र वितिलय स्कन्दस्य पुत्रस्य महासेनस्य)[1] से विदित होता है कि सेनवंशी शासक पितृ-सत्ता प्रधान थे, जबकि उनके पूर्व शासन करने वाले सातवाहन व बोधि शासक मातृ-सत्ता प्रधान थे। सातवाहन शासकों ने कौशिकी[2], माढरी[3], वासिठि[4], या गौतमी[5] इत्यादि मातृ गोत्र तथा बोधियों ने "वासिठि" गोत्र का प्रयोग नाम के पूर्व किया है।

सेनवंशी शासकों ने सीसे व पोटिन के सिक्के ढलवाए। छोटे-छोटे वर्तुलाकार सिक्कों का व्यास 9.17 मि० मी० से 13.27 मि० मी० के बीच तथा वजन .635 ग्राम से 2.02 ग्राम के मध्य हैं। सिक्कों और मृणमुद्राओं पर शुंग-सातवाहनोत्तर कालीन ब्राह्मी-लिपि में शासकों का नाम अंकित है। अभी तक इस वंश के सात सदस्यों के बारे में जानकारी प्राप्त हुई है :—

(1) यशसेन (2)सुन्दरसेन (3) महासेन प्रथम (4) सुजेठसेन (5) सिंहसेन (6) वितिलय स्कन्द व (7)महासेन द्वितीय

सिंहसेन और वितिलय स्कन्द को छोड़कर शेष सभी शासकों के सिक्के त्रिपुरी की खुदाई में प्राप्त हो चुके हैं, जो इस क्षेत्र में उनके वर्चस्व व प्रभुत्व के द्योतक हैं।

सिक्कों के प्रकार

अग्रभाग के चिन्हों के आधार पर सिक्कों को मुख्यतः दो भागों में रख सकते हैं ;—

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[1] *JNSI.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 159; शास्त्री, अजयमित्र : 'त्रिपुरी' पृ० 32.

[2] Shastri, Ajai Mitra (Ed.) : '*Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and Coins from Excavations*', p. 38.

[3] *JNSI.*, Vol. XV, p. 182.

[4] *Prāchya-Pratibhā*, Vol. VII, No. 1 and 2 Pp. 55-67.

[5] Gautamīputra (22nd ruler), see Pargiter, F. E. : '*The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*', p. 36.

प्रथम प्रकार

पृष्ठभाग के चिन्हों के आधार पर प्रथम प्रकार के तीन उपविभाग हैं :—

	अग्रभाग	पृष्ठ भाग
(1)	अर्द्धचन्द्र से अलंकृत तीन शिखरों वाला पर्वत, जिसके दोनों ओर सर्पिल रेखाओं द्वारा अंकित नदियाँ, (नर्मदा और बेन गंगा)[1] तथा ब्रह्मी-लिपि में राजा का नाम अंकित है ।	सादा
(2)	,,	देवाकृति
(3)	,,	वेदिकावृक्ष

द्वितीय प्रकार

इसके अन्तर्गत केवल एक ही प्रकार का सिक्का है ।

अग्रभाग	पृष्ठभाग
दो अर्द्धचन्द्र, जिसके पृष्ठभाग एक-दूसरे जुड़े हैं । किनारे-कनारे वर्तुलाकार ब्राह्मी-लिपि में शासक का नाम है ।	मध्य में देवाकृति, बायीं ओर सीढ़ी जैसा चिन्ह तथा नीचे नदी का अंकन है ।

शासकों का ऐतिहासिक क्रम

तिथि के अभाव में सेनवंशी शासकों के ऐतिहासिक-क्रम का निर्धारण करने के लिए मुख्यतः स्तरीकरण और मुद्रण-शैली को आधार बनाया गया है । सर्वाधिक निचले स्तर से प्राप्त शासक के सिक्के को प्रारम्भ में रखा है तथा शेष शासकों के सिक्कों को क्रमश;, स्तर के आधार पर बाद में रखा हैं । जहाँ विविध शासकों के सिक्के एक काल के एक ही स्तर से मिले हैं, वहाँ सिक्कों के स्वरूप पर दृष्टिपात किया है । जिन शासकों के सिक्के पूर्णतः बोधि शासकों के अनुकरण पर ढले हैं, उन्हे पूर्व में व दूसरे शासकों को बाद में रखा है ।

वंशावली

(1) यशसेन (2) सुन्दरसेन (3) महासेन प्रथम (4) सुजेठसेन (5) सिंहसेन (6) वितिलय स्कन्द और (7) महासेन द्वितीय ।

यशसेन

इस शासक के तीन सिक्के प्राप्त हुए हैं, जो प्रथम प्रकार के प्रथम वर्ग के अन्तर्गत आते हैं । सिक्कों के निर्माण के लिए भिन्न-भिन्न साँचों का प्रयोग किया गया है । पर्वत के शिखरों का स्वरूप किसी पर एकदम गोल व किसी पर कुछ लम्बा है । वजन की दृष्टि से भी उनमें विविधता है ।

सिक्के

(I) पंजीयन क्र० 5111, चतुर्थकाल (ईसा पूर्व 100 से ईसवी 200 तक), स्तर ग्यारहवाँ
सीसा, वर्तुलाकार, व्यास 11.3 मि० मी०, 1.18 ग्राम।

अग्रभाग : मध्य में अर्द्धचन्द्र से अलंकृत तीन शिखरों वाला पर्वत, जिसके दोनों ओर लहरदार रेखाओं द्वारा अंकित नर्मदा और बेन गंगा नदियाँ हैं । सिक्के के किनारे-किनारे वर्तुलाकार ब्राह्मी लेख हैं :—

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[1] Bajpai, K. D., '*Indian Numismatic Studies*', p. 161, fn. 7.

"(य) स से न स" (यशसेनस्य)

पृष्ठभाग : सादा ।

(2) पंजीयन क्र० 5044, पंचम काल (ई० 200 से 350 तक), तृतीय स्तर
सीसा, गोल, व्यास 9.17 मि० मी०, .728 ग्राम ।

अग्रभाग : चिह्न उपर्युक्त सिक्के क्र० 5111 के समान ।
ब्राह्मी लेख—"य स से न स" (यशसेनस्य) ।

(3) पोटिन का एक सिक्का खदान नं० 8 के ग्यारहवें स्तर से मिला है । (Pl. V. TPR8)
गोल व्यास–11.49 मि०मी०, .937 ग्राम ।

अग्रभाग : चिन्ह उपर्युक्त सिक्कों के समान हैं, किन्तु पर्वत के शिखर कुछ लम्बे हैं ।
लेख—"य स से न (स)" ।

पृष्ठभाग : सादा ।

सुन्दरसेन

महेशचन्द्र चौबे ने त्रिपुरी से प्राप्त सेनवंशी शासकों के सिक्कों को प्रकाशित किया है[1] । कुछ पर लेख अपूर्ण हैं । शेष सभी सिक्के सुदरसेन या सुन्दरसेन नामक शासक के हैं । त्रिपुरी-उत्खनन से भी इस शासक के दो सिक्के प्राप्त हुए हैं, जो प्रथम प्रकार के द्वितीय व तृतीय वर्गो के अन्तर्गत आते हैं ।

(1) पंजीयन क्र० 5397, चतुर्थ काल, चौथा स्तर
सीसा, गोल, व्यास 10.48 मि० मि०, .72 ग्राम (Pl. V.)

अग्रभाग : मध्य में अर्द्धचन्द्र से अलंकृत तीन शिखरों वाला पर्वत, जिसके दोनों ओर लहरदार रेखाओं द्वारा अंकित नर्मदा और बेनगंगा नदियाँ हैं । किनारे-किनारे वर्तुलाकार ब्राह्मी–लेख प्राकृत भाषा में अंकित हैं :—

"सु द र से न स" (सुन्दरसेनस्य)

पृष्ठभाग : दाहिनी ओर किनारे पर झुकी हुई मानवाकृति देव के प्रतीक के रूप में अंकित हैं ।

(2) पंजीयन क्र० 2251, पंचम काल, पाँचवा स्तर
सीसा, गोल, व्यास 9.18 मि०मी०, ·635 ग्राम (Pl. V)

अग्रभाग : क्र० 5397 के समान ।

पृष्ठभाग : मध्य से कुछ बायीं ओर चौकोर वेदिका के मध्य वृक्ष है । उत्खनन में प्राप्त सिक्कों के पृष्ठभाग पर देवाकृति और वेदिकावृक्ष का अंकन अलग-अलग सिक्कों पर मिला है, जबकि चौबे द्वारा प्रकाशित कुछ सिक्कों पर ये दोनों प्रतीक एक ही सिक्के पर अंकित हैं ।

महासेन प्रथम

इस शासक का एक सिक्का मिला है, जो अन्य शासकों के सिक्कों से कुछ बड़ा और विशिष्ट चिन्हों से युक्त हैं । दो अन्य मृण्मुद्राओं पर भी महासेन का नाम है । लिपि की दृष्टि से मृण्मुद्राएँ अपेक्षाकृत परवर्ती हैं । इसलिए इन दोनों महासेन नामधारी शासकों का समीकरण एक ही शासक से नहीं किया जा सकता । मृण्मुद्राओं को प्रचलित करने वाले महासेन का उल्लेख महासेन द्वितीय के रूप में किया गया है ।

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[1] *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, Pp. 157-159, Pl. X, 5 :14.

पंजीयन क्र० 5437, चतुर्थ काल, चौथा स्तर

पोटिन, गोल, व्यास 13.27 मि०मी०, 2.02 ग्राम। (V .lP)

अग्रभाग : मध्य से कुछ बायीं ओर दो अर्द्धचन्द्र (पृष्ठभाग एक दूसरे से जुड़े हुए) अंकित हैं। स्पष्ट ब्राह्मी-अक्षरों में वर्तुलाकार लेख हैं :—

"म हा से न स" (घड़ी के अनुसार 11 बजे प्रारम्भ होकर 7 बजे समाप्त)

पृष्ठभाग : मध्य में प्रभामण्डल युक्त देवाकृति, बायीं ओर सीढ़ी जैसा चिन्ह व नीचे नंदी का अंकन हैं।

सुजेठसेन

इस शासक का सिक्का सुन्दरसेन के प्रथम प्रकार के द्वितीय वर्ग के सिक्के के अनुकरण पर ढला है।

पंजीयन क्र० 671, पंचम काल, तृतीय स्तर

सीसा, गोल, व्यास 11.55 मि०मी०, 1.5 ग्राम

अग्रभाग : मध्य में अर्द्धचन्द्र से अलंकृत तीन शिखरों वाला पर्वत, जिसके दोनों ओर लहरदार रेखाओं द्वारा अंकित नर्मदा और बेनगंगा नदियाँ हैं। किनारे-किनारे वर्तुलाकार ब्राह्मी लेख है[1] ; "सु (जे) ठ से न स"।

पृष्ठभाग : मध्य से कुछ बायीं ओर स्थानक देवाकृति है, जिसके हाथ व पैर फैले हुए हैं।

पूर्व में सुजेठसेन का उल्लेख सातवाहन शासकों के अन्तर्गत किया गया था[2]। किन्तु अन्य सिक्कों की प्राप्ति से यह निश्चित है कि यह सेनवंशी शासक था।

महासेन द्वितीय की मृण्मुद्राएँ

ऐतिहासिक दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण दो सेनवंशी मृण्मुद्राओं पर "सिंहसेन", "वितिलय स्कन्द", "महासेन" और "गोविरा" नाम मिलते हैं। सिंहसेन, महासेन का पितामह. वितिलय स्कन्द उसका पिता और गोविरा उसकी उपाधि रही होगी। मृण्मुद्राओं पर सिंह, श्रीवत्स, शंख, नन्दी, दोहरे अर्द्धचन्द्र से अलंकृत छः शिखरों वाला पर्वत व एक नवीन चिन्ह ⁚ का सुन्दर प्रतीकात्मक अंकन हैं।

मृण्मुद्राओं का विवरण

(1) लाल मिट्टी की अधपकी मृण्मुद्रा पर "महासेन गोविरा" दो पंक्तियों में अंकित हैं। गोविरा के बाद के कुछ अक्षर मृण्मुद्रा के खण्डित होने के कारण स्पष्ट नहीं हैं।

पंजीयन क्र० 43, चतुर्थ काल, चौथा स्तर

आकार गोल, व्यास 3 से०मी० (Pl. V)

मृणमुद्रा का किनारा एक साधारण रेखा द्वारा निर्मित है। मध्य में आड़ी रेखा है। ऊपरी आधे भाग में दो स्पष्ट चिन्हों का अंकन हैं :—

(1) मध्य में गर्वीला सिंह अपने पिछले पैरों पर पूँछ उठाकर बैठा है।

(2) सिंह के सामने श्रीवत्स चिन्ह है।

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[1] *Indian Archaeology : A Review*, 1966-67, P. 18 and 63.

[2] *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology*, 1968, Sagar, p. 142.

नीचे के आधे भाग में दो पंक्तियों में ब्राह्मी लेख हैं :

"म हा से न
गो वि रा ....",

(2) पंजीयन क्र० 5104, पंचम काल, तृतीय स्तर।
आकार गोल, व्यास 2.5 से०मी०, लाल पकी मिट्टी। **(Pl. V)**

अलंकृत किनारे का थोड़ा-सा भाग ठप्पांकित हुआ है (दो साधारण रेखाओं के मध्य आड़ी धारियाँ हैं।) मध्य में ककुद युक्त आसीन नंदी हैं। उसके सामने दोहरे अर्द्धचन्द्र से अलंकृत छः शिखरों वाला पर्वत है। नंदी के पीछे भी एक चिन्ह है, जिसका स्वरूप कुछ विशिष्ट प्रकार का है— ∵ । एकदम छोटे-छोटे स्पष्ट ब्राह्मी अक्षरों में वर्तुलकार लेख हैं :—

"सिंहसेन पौत्र वितिलय स्कन्दस्य पुत्रस्य महासेनस्य[1]
(सिंहसेन के पौत्र, "वितिलय" स्कन्द के पुत्र महासेन का)

लेख में "वितिलय" शब्द का अर्थ स्पष्ट नहीं है। सम्भवतः यह स्कन्द की उपाधि थी। त्रिपुरी से ही प्राप्त एक अन्य मृण्मुद्रा पर "विलवनस" लेख स्पष्ट ब्राह्मी-अक्षरों में लिखा है।[2] इन उपाधियों का समीकरण यदि एक ही शासक से करें, तो यह मान सकते हैं कि विलवत नाम वाली मृण्मुद्रा स्कन्द नामक शासक ही हैं।

महासेन का समय 350 ईसवी के आस-पास निर्धारित किया गया है।[3] 319-20 ईसवी में गुप्त वंश के उद्भव के पश्चात् त्रिपुरी पर स्वतंत्र शासकों का अस्तित्व समाप्त हो गया था, इसलिए इस शासक का समय चतुर्थ शताब्दी के एकदम प्रारम्भ में मान सकते हैं।

उपर्युक्त सिक्कों और मृण्मुद्राओं के अतिरिक्त सेनवंशी शासकों के दो और सिक्के मिले हैं। मुद्रण-शैली व अपूर्ण-लेख के आधार पर केवल इतना स्प - क ये सेनवंशी शासकों के सिक्के हैं।

(1) पंजीयन क्र० 5380, चतुर्थ काल, चौथा स्तर
सीसा, गोल, व्यास, 11.15 मि०मी०, 1.5 ग्राम **(Pl. V)**

अग्रभाग : चन्द्रमेरू (जिसके शिखर कुछ लम्बे हैं), उसके दोनों ओर नदियाँ हैं। ब्राह्मी-लेख–"से न स"

पृष्ठभाग : सादा।

(2) पंजीयन क्र० 5364, चतुर्थकाल, तीसरा स्तर
सीसा, गोल, व्यास 11.56 मि०मी०, .85 ग्राम **(Pl. V)**

अग्रभाग : चन्द्रमेरू व नदियाँ। लेख घिसा हुआ।

पृष्ठभाग : बायीं ओर किनारे पर आयताकार वेदिका के मध्य वृक्ष है, जिसमें पाँच डालियाँ है।

इस प्रकार त्रिपुरी से प्राप्त उपर्युक्त सिक्के एक नवीन राजवंश का अभिज्ञान कराते हैं, जिन्होंने बोधियों के पश्चात् और गुप्तों के पूर्व स्थानीय शासकों के रूप में शासन किया था। सभी शासकों ने नाम के अन्त में "सेन" शब्द का प्रयोग किया है, इसलिए उन्हें सेनवंशी शासक के नाम से अभिहित किया जा सकता है।

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[1] शास्त्री, अजयमित्र : 'त्रिपुरी', पृ० 32; *JNSI*, XXXIX, p. 159.

[2] पंजीयन क्रमांक 6269.

[3] शास्त्री, अजयमित्र : वही, पृ० 32. Bajpai, K. D. *Op., cit.*, p. 173.

सर्वप्रथम ईसा-पूर्व द्वितीय-प्रथम शताब्दी में पांचाल, अयोध्या, कौशाम्बी के कतिपय शासकों ने इस शब्द का प्रयोग नाम के अन्त में किया ।[1] इसके पश्चात् पश्चिमी भारत के शक-क्षत्रप जैसे—रूद्रसेन, पृथ्वीसेन दामसेन, विजयसेन व विश्वनेन[2] इत्यादि शासकों के नाम भारतीयों के अनुकरण पर रखे गए । ईसवी तीसरी व चौथी शताब्दी के प्रारम्भ में त्रिपुरी के स्थानीय शासकों ने अपने नाम के अन्त में इस शब्द का प्रयोग किया । विदिशा से प्राप्त एक मृण्मुद्रा पर "महाराज महासेनापति सेन" ईसवी दूसरी-तीसरी शताब्दी की ब्राह्मी-लिपि में उत्कीर्ण है, जिससे ज्ञात होता है कि विदिशा का "सेन" शासक राजा व सेना का प्रधान दोनों था ।[3] अंतिम सेन शब्द का प्रयोग करने वाले शासक बंगाल के थे, जिन्होंने पालों के पश्चात् शासन किया था ।[4] इस प्रकार सेन शब्द का प्रयोग अलग-अलग क्षेत्र के शासकों ने समय-समय पर किया, जिनका स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व था ।

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1. Bandyopadhyay, Samaresh (Ed.) : *Acharya-Vandana* (D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume, Calcutta) p. 137.
2. Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalkar, A. D. : '*The Age of Imperial Unity*', pp. 186-190.
3. Bandyopadhyay, Samaresh, *op., cit.*, p. 137.
4. Majumdar, R. C. and Pusalkar, A. D. : '*Struggle for Empire*', pp. 35-41.

RECENTLY FOUND COINS AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE NALAS

V. D. JHA

(Pl. IV. 8-9)

The history of the Nala rulers of Chakrakūṭa (Bastar-Koraput region) is primarily based on the epigraphic and numismatic evidence. On the basis of palaeography, the Nala king Varāharāja, Bhavadatta and his successors have been placed in the 5th century AD. Their placement in the 3rd century AD by Pargiter,[1] and in 6th century AD by Sircar[2] do not appear plausible.

The first hoard, yielding their 32 gold coins was found at Adeṅga in Kondagaon tahsil of Bastar in 1939.[3] The hoard contained 29 gold coins of Varāharāja, 2 of Arthapati and 1 of Bhavadatta. Though, the name of Varāharāja has not been referred to in any of the epigraphs of the Nalas, he has been regarded as the first known ruler of the dynasty on the basis of the palaeography of his coins. Nisar Ahmad's contention that Arthapati of the coins found in Adeṅga hoard was the predecessor of Varāharāja is not acceptable.[4]

Four gold coins of the Nalas, published by Rai Bahadur Prayaga Dayal[4] are preserved in the Lucknow museum. The gold-coins of Bhavadatta and one of Arthapati have been noticed in the hoard found at Kuliā in district Durg (M. P.)[5]

The single die gold coins of the Nalas are circular in shape. The device and the legend, embossed in relief on indegeneous weight standard, are made on thin sheet of gold. The beaded bordered coins are divided into two parts by horizontal line. The couchant humped bull and crescent are shown on the upper half; the lower half bears the name of the king in the box headed Brāhmī script of 5th century AD.

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[1] *Purana-Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 61 ff.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 12-16.

[3] *JNSI*, Vol. I, pp. 20-25.

[4] *JNSI*, Vol. XXV, Part I.

[4a] *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. II, pp. 115 ff.

[5] *Prāchya Pratibhā*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 69-74.

The coins of Varāharāja bear the legend '*Śri Varāha*' or '*Śri Varāharāja*' on the lower half of the obverse, while those of Bhavadatta and Arthapati bear the legend '*Śri Bhavadattarājasya*' and '*Śri Arthapatirājasyas*' respectively.

The coins of the Nalas may be divided into two main classes on the basis of the size and weight. The larger variety, weighing from 19.7 to 24.6 grains each, has the diameter of 20 to 21 mm. The smaller coins, 7.5 grains in weight, are about 15 mm. in diameter. On some of the coins the bull is shown facing right, while on others it faces left. The crescent is shown either behind or in front of the bull.

The names of only four early Nala rulers viz. Varāharāja, Bhavadatta, Arthapati and Skandavarman have been found so far. It was supposed that the Nalas of Bastar-Koraput region were lost in abeyance after Skandavarman. But, the Aihole epigraph extolling Chalukya Kīrtivarman (AD 567-597) for the total annihilation of the Nalas indicates that the successors of Skandavarman (whose reign came to an end positively by the close of the 5th century AD) were still ruling over some parts of South Kosala. Again, Vilāsatuṅga of the Rajivalochana temple inscription at Rājim (district Raipur, M. P.) claiming his descendence from the celeberated king Nala exhibits Nala's paramountacy over the present region of Chhattisgarh in 8th century AD.[1] The epigraph mentions the names of Virūparāja and Pṛthvīrāja the father and grand father of Vilāsatuṅga respectively.

Recently Found Gold Coins of the Later Nalas

The above mentioned assumption has been corroborated by the recently found gold coins of two kings named Naṅdanarāja and Stambha. These coins, found in Kuliā hoard, are similar to those of the early Nala rulers so far as device, shape, size, weight and metal is concerned. Moreover, these coins, struck on the pattern of the coins of the Nalas of Bastar-Koraput, have been found in the Kuliā hoard along with those of Arthapati and Bhavadatta. Details of the coins of Naṅdanarāja and Stambha are given below.

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[1] Prog. Report of *ASI*, *W. India*, 1903-04, p. 48; Report of *ASI*, XVII, 1811-82, p. 6.

Coin of Naṅdanarāja

Circular gold-coin; diameter 20 mm; weight 1.310 grains.

Obverse : Circular beaded border; divided into two parts by two horizontal lines. The couchant humped bull facing left is shown in the upper half. A crescent is depicted near the mouth of the bull and five dots above it. The legend '*Śrī Naṅdanarāja*' is found in the lower half of the coin.

Reverse : Blank. (Pl. IV. 8)

The five dots shown above the bull appear to be accidental and do not carry any meaning.

Coin of Stambha

Circular gold coin; diameter 16 mm.; weight 0.720 grains. Die struck coin.

Obverse : Circular beaded border; divided into two parts by a horizontal line. The couchant humped bull facing left is shown in the upper half. A circular symbol, probably a moon is shown in front of the bull. The legend '*Stambha*' in Brahmi scrip is found in the lower half of the coin.

Reverse : Blank. (Pl. IV. 9)

Chronology of the Later Nalas

It is evident from the script of the coins that Naṅdanarāja and Stambha were undoubtedly the descendents of Skaṅdavarman. They may be regarded the immediate predecessors of Pṛthvīrāja of the Rājim inscription of Vilāsatuṅga.

Stambha (c. 634 to 670 AD)

It appears that the immediate successor of Skandavarman had to suffer heavy defeat at the hand of Pāṅduvaṁśī Nanna (AD 475-500). By this time Nalas were cornered to the region of the present Durg and Raipur districts. Like Skaṅdavarman his immediate successors did not issue independent currency owing to their subordinate position. It may be conjectured, that Stambha proclaimed independency during the political instability caused out of the struggle between the Chālukyas and the Pāṅduvaṁśis slightly before 634 AD. Stambha's independent status has been indicated by his gold coins. As indicated by his currency, he was also a follower of Śaiva sect. His reign may be assigned provisionally in between c. 634 to 670 AD.

Naṅdanarāja (c. 671 to 700 AD)

In all probabilities, Naṅdanarāja succeeded Stambha. The relationship between them cannot be ascertained at the present state of our knowledge. His independent status, too, has been exhibited by his independent coinage. It appears that he followed his predecessor so far as religious policy is concerned. He may be placed tentatively between c. 671 to 700 AD.

Pṛthvirāja (701 to c. 737 AD)

Pṛthvīrāja, referred to in the Rājīvalochana temple inscription of Vilāsatuṅga succeeded Naṅdanarāja. The word '*Rāja*' at the end of the names of Naṅdanarāja and Pṛthvīrāja, and the character of the Brahmi letters on the coin of Naṅdanarāja suggest that he preceded Pṛthvīrāja.

Pṛthvīrāja, who retrieved the Nala glory, claimed his descendence from the celebrated king Nala :

> "Khyāto nṛipo Nala iti praṇatāri chakra chūḍāmani……Pṛthvīrāja iti."
> *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 49-56).

He was the father of Virūparāj and grandfather of Vilāsatuṅga. According to Sircar[1] Nisadapati Pṛthvīvyāghra of the Udayendiram grant of Pallavamalla (AD 730-780) and Pṛthvīrāja of the Rājivalochana temple epigraph are one and the same person. Sircar's assumption appears to be plausible at the present state of our knowledge. As a matter of fact, Pṛthvīrāja was a sovereign of high order, who not only performed *Aśvamedha Yajña*, but also annexed the territories of Chalukya Viṣṇuvardhan III (AD 709-746).

Virūparāja (c. 737 to c. 751 AD)

The handsome, brave and charitable Virūparāja succeeded his father Pṛthviraja probably in the year 737 AD. It may be conjectured that his reign lasting for about 14 years, came to an end by 751 AD.

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[1] Indian Antiquary, No. 8, p. 273.

Vilasalung (c. 751 to c. 770 AD)

According to Mirashi[1] the region of Vilāsatuṅga may be assigned in the later part of the 7th century AD. But the views of Bhandarkar[2] and R. B. Hiralal[3] appear to be more tenable. They have placed Vilāsatuṅga in the middle of 8th century AD. This assumption has been corroborated by the inscriptional evidence. Durgahastina, the engraver of the Rājim epigraph of Vilāsatuṅga, was the son of Jalahastina. It is noteworthy that the Gandheśvara temple inscription of the time of Bālārjuna was inscribed by the son of Durgahastina 'Durgahastisuteneyam Praśastiḥ'.

Rajaguru opines, that Durgahastin of the above mentioned epigraphs was one and the same person, and hence Vilāsatuṅga may be regarded nearly contemporary to Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna (AD 760-820)[4]. Accordingly, Vilāstuṅga may be placed roughly in between AD 751-770.

The temple of Rājiīvalochana, erected by Vilāsatuṅga indicates that he was a Vaishṇava king.

The history fo the Nala dynasty after Vilāsatuṅga is obscure on account of paucity of the sources. It appears, that they were ousted from South Kosala forever by the Kalachuris. A king named Bhīmsena, ruling over the region of the present districts of Ganjam and Koraput (Orissa) during the first quarter of 10th century AD, claims his descendence from the celebrated king Nala.[5] If Bhīmsena is to be taken as the descendent of Vilāsatuṅga, we may assume that the Nalas carved out a small principality in Orissa after their ouster from present Chhattisgarh by the Kalachuris.

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1. *Ep. Ind.* XXVI, p. 51.
2. *Progress Report of ASI, W. India*, 1903-94, p. 48.
3. *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar*, p. 103.
4. *Report of ASI*, XVII, p. 301.
5. Rajaguru, S.N., *Inscriptions of Orissa*, II, p. 102.

A NOTE ON THE SO-CALLED VISHṆUKUṆDIN COINS

M. AMJAD ALI

(Pl. IV. 10-12)

I am presenting, No. 1 a rare damaged silver coin (W 5.5.G-S 1.5 cm), No. 2 a copper die-struck of different type, with a thin fabric like Indo-Sassanian, with a pattern without lamp-stands, on the reverse bearing only *Śankha* and radiating sun rays (Wt. 5.5 gms.; Sz. 2.2 cm), No. 3 a cast of bronze coin representing a typical Vishṇukundin[1] coin. No. 4 is a new find of my collection, a die-struck coin (Wt. 7 gms.; Sz 1.8), circular, probably of copper and tin alloy, with *Simha* on obverse and *Śankha* with lamp-stands and sun rays on the reverse. It is interesting, rather intriguing, to note a legend in Persian in between the paws of *Siṃha*. If we read from the right to the left the دو *do* alphabets are clear which is followed probably by فلس or فلسی *fils*.

Obverse

1	2	3	4
defaced simha with a cresent above	Simha with looped tail	Jewelled *Simha* with front paw raised, looped tail legend between paws	Plain *Simha* with front paw raised tail looped *Do* ? *fils*

Reverse

1	2	3	4
Śankha Lamp stands and sun rays.	*Sankha* and sun rays	*Śankha* and lamp stand and Sun rays	*Śankha* Lampstand and Sun rays

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[1] *Vishnukūndin Coins, Andhra Pradesh Arch. Series No.* 11

No. 2 and No. 4 die-stunck coins may help us in attribution of these coins and solve the problem Pallava of the Vishṇukndin coinage. We are all aware of the fact that the attribution of these coins is still puzzling the numismatists due to the absence of legend on these coins. The hoard finds of Nalgonda in Karimnagar district of A. P. were assigned to Vishṇukuṇḍins (220-624 A D) by M. Rama Rao. Yeleshwaram[1] excavation discoveries of Bull and Simha type of coins by A. Washed Khan were attributed to Vikramendra Verma (530-544 A D) of Vishṇukuṇḍin line by M. Rama Rao who deciphered Brahmī legend as "*Vikrama*". But S. Ramayya[2] refuted this possibility due to the fact that Yeleshwaram was occupied by the Pallavas (250-900 AD) in 4th century A D and "Vikrama" used to be a common title. The origin of the Pallavas is still not clear.

Due to the similarity of the family name with the Pahlavis of Persia, it was suggested by C. J. Rapson[3] and S. W. Elliot[4] that they may be foreingners. V. Venkiah, B. L. Rice[5] and Father Heras[6] supported this view point.

Their close resemblance to Scytho-Sassanian[7] and Ephthalite coinage suggests a definite foreign influence. We know the latter issued coins bearing Śankha (shell) and sun.

In my opinion the following points also favour the foreign influence :

(1) The *śankha* and lamp-stands represent the fire-altar and attendents.
(2) We note a lion and sun with rays motif still carried on the coinage of the Pahlavis.
(3) Their die-struck character.

I attribute the die-struck coins No. 2 and 4 to the Pallavas and No. 3 the cast coin to Vishṇukuṇḍins, who might have immitated the Pallavas. We know casting is said to be indigenous where as die-striking was introduced by the outsiders.

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1. *Andhra Pradesh* Arch. Series No. 14 PP 55-57, Pl XXVI.
2. *J* N XXIV, Pt. 1, P29.
3. *Catalogue of the Indian Coins ih the British Museum* (1908)
4. *Op. cit.* pl II No. 49.50
5. *Mysore and Koorg from Inscriptions*, p.53.
6. *Jourual of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IV Pl. IV (1936)
7. Cunningtran A. *Later Indo Scythians*, pl. VII No. 4.

HARMAL HOARD OF SILAHĀRA SILVER COINS

V. R. MITRAGOTRI

(Pl. VI. 1-5)

Harmal hoard of silver coins was discovered in Pednem taluka of Goa by Shri Vasudev Dattaram Gavde in a tiny earthen pot while he was working on a laterite quarry in August, 1979. This hoard consists of 100 silver coins weighing on an avarage 1.8 grams. Dr. V. T Gune, then Director of Archives, Archaeology and Museum of Goa, Daman and Diu, alongwith the author and Keeper of Museum Shri L. K. Pitre, visited the find spot and acquired the coins for the Museum of the Directorate. V. T. Gune, published a biref note on Harmal hoard in the *News Letter* of the aforesaid Directorate and is of the opinion that coins belong to c. 750-820 AD and are of Silahara period.[1]

Obverse : *Triśūla* without handle, sun and the moon in the intervening space between the forks. However, Gune has mentioned in his article that the symbol is lamp-post (instead of *triśūla*) and the moon and the sun. When we compare symbols on other Silahāra coins it is clear that the symbol present on the coin is not a lamp-post but a *triśūla*. Only two letters द र occur on the obverse.

Reverse : Legend *Śrīdara* occurs. However, accarding to aforesaid scholar, the legend is *Sri Ha Ra* and palaeographically he ascribes the coins to 10th century AD, though he had ascribed them to c. 750-820 A D earlier. It may be noted that *dha* (ध) was not so developed in the 11th century AD inscriptions. Hence, we find only *Śrīdara* instead of *Śrīdhara*.

Reference to Sridar Pandita occurs in lines 83 and 84 of Kharepatan copper plates of Silahara Anantadeva which, belong to Śaka year 1016 (1094 AD)[3]. Kharepatan copper plates are the only records of Anantadeva.

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[1] V. T. Gune, *News Letter* Vol. II No. 3 of Archives, Archaeology and Museum of the Govt, of Goa, Daman and Diu. pp. 64-65.

[2] V. V. Mirashi : *Corups Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. VI (Inscription of Silaharas) p. 115.

[3] *Ibid*, Plate XLIX—Vol. VI, p. 119

These copper plates reveal that Anantadeva assumed the title of *Paśchima-samudrādhipati* and claimed to be the ruler of entire Konkan including Purīṅkan.[1] He extended his rule to the south Konkan for establishing his supremacy. It seems he had to wage a series of wars against the contemporary rulers. Sridar Pandita was the door keeper of the fort and guarded the fort of Anantadeva against a seizure by enemy. Anantadeva might have been immediately pleased to issue the grant, and, coins were issued to comemorate the event. In view of above, these coins from Harmal can not belong to c. 750-820 AD but to Anantadeva's period (i.e. 1100 AD). Three branches of Silahāras were ruling in the large areas of the Deccan namely Silahāras of North Konkan, South Konkan and Silahāras of Kolhapur. Inspite of the large number of kings of this dynasty who ruled from the above branches comparatively very few coins have been discovered. There is no evidence that Silahāra coins existed before the period of Chittaraja who was ruling around the middle of the eleventh century.[3] Two tiny gold coins about half an inch in diameter and weighing about 1.5 grains with *triśūlā* without a handle, sun, and the moon in intervening space between the forks on the obverse and on the reverse, garuda were found in Brahmagiri excavation.[3]

In view of above it can be claimed that the discovery of coins belonging to Anantadeva's period from Southern Silahara branch is an important event in the history of Silaharas.[4]

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1. *Ibid*, PXVI.
2. Brajadulal Chattopadhya : *Gold Currency System of India*, pp. 48.
3. H.D. Sankalia and M.G. Dikshit : *Excavation at Brnhmapur* (Kolhapur) p. 39.
4. I am grateful to Dr. P. P. Shirodkar, the Director of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, of Goa, Daman and Diu for permitting me to publish the paper and photograph the coins and Shri C. Surlikar for typing the manuscript.

TAMIL NADU AND ŚRĪ LANKĀ NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

N. SANKARANARAYANA

(Pl. VI. 6-11)

Recently a hoard of twenty six impure gold coins was reported from Sayamalai village, Sankarankoil taluk, Tirunelveli district. When the coins were examined they were found to be from Śrī Lankā. The coins are round is shape and their weights range between 4.32 gms. to 4.38 gms. On the obverse of the coins is depicted, the usual Ceylon man, standing type. Besides this figure there are some symbols which are found uniformly on all the coins. One of the symbols near the left palm of the standing man resembles a *kalaśa.* There are five dots below the left palm of the standing figure. On the reverse of the coin is found a seated figure. On account of the legend this side of the coin is of greater importance. Besides the legend, there is an object which looks like a mat. The legend reads "*Lanka Vibhu*" in Nāgarī characters. Besides the above mentioned treasure trove, the Government Museum received two treasure troves, one consisting of forty two gold coins from Ranganathapuram village, Papanasam taluk, Tanjore district and the other from Tenkasi, Tirunelveli district consisting of thirty seven gold coins and two gold bits.

These treasure troves confirm the references in inscriptions to Īḷakkāśu. The contact of people from Śrī Lankā and Tamil Nadu is attested by the cultural impact on each other and the find of each others coins in both the countries. A hoard of coins discovered at Kalpatiya in 1839 contained among others, some with the fish emblems. These coins which have been ascribed to the 9th century, show that during that period commercial contact existed between Tamil Nadu and Śrī Lankā.[1]

The find of the Pāṇḍyan coins of Jaṭāvarma Sundara Pāṇḍya, ruling about the middle of the 13th century AD in Śrī Lankā, confirms commercial contact even during that period.[2]

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[1] K. K. Pillay, *South India and Śrī Lankā*, University of Madras 1975 p. 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

The find of Śrī Lankā coins in Tamil Nadu is much less as compared with the find of coins of Tamil Nadu in Śrī Lankā.[1] The reference of Ilakkāśu in inscriptions of the time of Parāntaka I suggests that the Iḷakkāśu was legal tender.[2]

Inscriptions provide a wealth of information on names of coins, their weight standard, their value in terms of land etc. We find reference to Ilakkāśu in Chola and Pandya inscriptions. We hear for the first time about Iḷakkāśu in an inscription of Paraitaka (907-45 A D) in his 24th year.[3]

K. V. Raman[4] has also discussed about the *Iḷakkāśu* in his book on Pāṇḍyan history and its relationship with other coins. He refers to one of the epigraphs of Parāntaka I, which illustrates that one *Ilakkāśu* was equivalent to 7.5 *Akkam*, though the value of *Akkam* was not known at that time. According to Raman, it was equivalent to 1/12 of a *Kāśu* or 1/24 of a *Kalanju*.

These numismatic references in inscriptions, to *Iḷakkāśu*, when studied with the actual coins throw a flood of light on the Indo-Śrī Lankā contacts in the past.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
3. C. R. Srinivasan, *Journal of the Numisunchi Society India*, Vol. XXXI part II, 1969 p. 171.
4. K. V. Raman, *History of the Pandyas*, (Tamil). Published by the Tamil Nadu Text Book Society, Printed by Dhanyer Kuna Press ,Madras 17.

A COPPER COIN OF CHOLA KING RĀJA RĀJA THE GREAT

VARIKUTI VENKATA SUBBA REDDY

(Pl. VI. 12)

The copper coin under discussion, was found by my friend R. Jaya Prakash Reddy at Sanjeeva Rayunipeta village in Giddalur taluk of Parkasam district in Andhra Pradesh. I am thankful to my friend for supplying me the coin for the study.

The coin is roughly circular in shape with a diametre 2.25 cms. and weighs 8.5 gms.

One side of the specei bears the figure of standing king, while the other side shows seated figure of the king holding a *śankha*, bears a Nāgarī legend in two vertical lines "*Raja Raja*". The figures on both sides are crudely executed. **(Pl. VI. 12)**

The legend enables us to ascribe it to Rāja Rāja of Imperial Choḷas (985-1015 A D). He minted coin in pure gold, silver and copper.

The present type of coinage issued, most probably, first by the Pāṇḍya kings in the Korkey area of Tinnevelly was copied, by Rāja Rāja the Choḷa king. This popular coin-type of the Choḷa emperors later copied even by the Ceylonese kings ("Ceylon-man"). The species under discussion bearing the legend *Raja Raja* vary considerably in their fabric. Some of them have flat flans, while the others are smaller in size and both faces appear to be convex. The motifs on them also show gradual deterioration. There is, therefore, the possibility that these coins were continued even after Raja Raja for a long time. The only other coins of this type are those which have the legend *Sri Kulothunga* in mixed Tamil-Nāgarī letters. A few coins of the type also bear the legend *Sri Lankeswara* or *Sri Lankavira*. The latter most probabaly relates to Raja Raja I himself and reminds us of his conquest of Ceylon.

During the reign of Rāja Rāja, the Choḷas stamped unquestioned supremacy in the south.[1]

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[1] He was the son of Parāntaka II and the first king of south India to introduce a record of his achievements in his inscripttons. He destroyed the naval power of Cheras. Madurā was occupied and the Pāṇḍya king was captured. He invaded Ceylon and occupied the northern part of the Island. A large portion of Mysore was conquered. Rāja Rāja came into conflict with the Western Chāḷukyas. He invaded Eastern Chāḷukya's kingdom of Veṅgi and gave his daughtet to Vimalāditya. He conquered Kaliṅga and probably occupied the Laccadives and the Maldevis.

Rāja Rāja was a capable administrator. Though an ordent worshipper of Śiva, he followed a policy of toleration. He built the great temple of Bṛihadiśvara at Tanjore. It is also known as Rāja Rājeśvara temple, named after the royal builder.

SILVER COINS OF THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

(Pl. VII. 1-3)

The Yādavas of Devagiri played an important role in the mediaeval history of India. They started their career as feudatories of the Chalukyas. They assumed imperial status after defeating their sovereigns by the end of twelth century AD. The Yadavas carried the banner of their conquest as far as Malwa in the North and Maharashtra and Karnatak in the South. Hundreds of inscriptions written in Kannada, Sanskrit and Marathi are found in the regions of Maharashtra and Karnataka. These inscriptions mention a number of coin-names such as Nishka, Gadyana, Suvarṇa, paṇa, Visa Āsus, Dramma etc. Thakkura Pheru who was a mint-master under Alaud-Din-Khalji and almost a contemporay of the Yadavas speaks of Golden Achchhus of Singhana and Mahadeva in his Prākṛit work '*Dravya-Parīkshā*', but unfortunately their coins have not been discovered in good numbers so as to give a good picture of the coinage of their times, or the relative value of them. So far only the gold coins of the Yadavas, which are popularly known as 'Padmatankas' are known in the numismatic field. Because of the central punch of the *Padma* the Yadava gold coins have been called as '*Padmaṭaṅkas*'. There is a eight petalled lotus on the obverse and the reverse of the coins is generally blank.

The gold coins of the Yadavas were noticed by Sir Walter Elliot,[1] E.J. Rapson,[2] Vincent Smith[3] and C.J. Brown.[4] But they were not correctly attributed. Elliot attributed those coins to the Kadambas. Rapson felt that palaeographically they could not be placed so early. Smith also thought that those coins must be later than 5th or 6th centuay AD. The credit of correct identification goes to Shri Shrinivas Krsna Iyengar.[5] Subsequently the discoveries of the Yadava gold coins from-Maharashtra,[1] Orissa,[2] and Madhya Pradesh[3] are reported from time to time but nothing was known about the silver coins of the Yadavas.

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[1] Sir Walter Elliot, *Coins of South India*, p. 38.

[2] Rapson E. J, *Indian Coins*, p. 38.

[3] Smith V. A., *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta p. 317.

[4] Brown C. J., *The Coins of India*, p. 59.

[5] *Numisnatuc Supplement*, No. 29 p. 6-10.*JNSI* III. pp. 53-54. *JNSI* XXIX (ii) pp. 46-48.

Shastri[4] has published silver coins of Bhillama V, Singhana and Ramachandra in the pages of *Numismatic Digest* for the first time.

Bhillama V was the first independent ruler of the Yadava house. He ascended the throne in AD 1185 when there was a great political upheavel in the Deccan. According to Hemadri Bhillama founded the city of Devagiri.

It was in 1966, a hoard of 124 gold coins of Bhillama was found in the village Devaljhari in Aurangabad district (Maharashtra). This hoard was brought to light for the first time the Padmatankas of Bhillama V. Dixit[5] assigned those coins to Bhillama IV. But on the basis of a close and careful examination Narasimhamurthy[6] attributed these coins to Bhillama V who was the first powerful ruler of the house.

Coin of Bhillam V

This Silver coin of Bhillama V is in the possession of Shantilal Purwar, Aurangabad. With his kind permission I publish my views on this coin.

The coin may be described as follows :

Roughly round, diameter 0.9, thickness 0.2 cm.

Obverse : Nagari legend in two lines.

L. 1 *Shrī—Bhi*

L. 2 (*ma*) *De—*

Reverse : Rudely executed lion standing to left. The animal is incomplete and is formed by dots, those representing the two hind legs and front left leg and the profile of the body.

(Pl. VII. 3)

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1. *JNSI*, XXIX (ii) pp. 46-48.
2. *JNSI*, XV, p. 128.
3. *JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 214, and *JNSI*, VIII, p. 149.
4. *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. IV (i) pp. 29-45.
5. *JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 46-48.
6. *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 211-212.

It is interesting to note that present Daultabad, which was ancient Devagiri, is hardly thirteen kms. from Aurangabad which is the provenance of the coins.

The Silver Coins of Singhanadeva

These two silver coins of the Yadava ruler Singhanadeva are in the coin cabinet of Anand Kelkar, Orthopaedic-Surgeon, Poona. He acquired these coins from a coin dealer in Pune and therefore the provenance of the coins is not known.

The coins may be described as follows :

Metal : Silver; Shape : Round; Diameter : 0.10 cms.
Thickness : 0.2 cms.; Weight : 1.55; 0.95 grams.
Obverse : Lion facing left with right paw of two front legs lifted. Tail curved.
The rim of the coin is slightly raised.
Reverse : Devanāgari in the letter '*De*'.

Coin 1.

Obverse : Lion with open jaw, facing left with uplifted front right paw, hind portion cut off.
Reverse : Legend in Nāgari.
L 1. *S'rī Siṅgha*
L 2. *ṇadeva.* **(Pl. VII. 1)**

Coin 2.

Obverse : Lion facing with uplifted front right paw, Mouth portion cut-off.
Reverse : L 1. (*S'rī*) *Siṅgha,*
L 2. (*ṇa*) *Deva.* **(Pl. VII. 2)**

The Padmatankas of Singhaṇa are found in Maharashtra,[1] M. P.[2] Orissa[3] and Andhrapradesh.[4] Singhaṇa was the most distinguished member of the Yādava house.

Lion on the Bhillama's coin is shown by heavy dots while Singhana's coins display artistic representation of lion.

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1. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 151.
2. *JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 214.
3. *JNSI*, XV, p. 128.
4. Tulpule S. G., *Lilacharitra.* Lila, 234, 253.

The gold Padmataṅkas were manufactured by Punch-marked technique whereas silver pieces are die-struck ones. On the basis of Bhillama's coins it appears that pieces were cut irregularly. Singhana's coins were regularly circular. The technique was fairly advanced. The honourific *Śrī* is prefixed to it. The legend is written in two lines. But it appears that die was larger than the flan.

The silver coins of the Yādavas as 'Dramma' appear in inscriptions and contemporary Marathi literature.[1] It is Sanskritized form of the Greek drachma. Its usual weight is 57 grains.

Dramma coins appear to be the common currency in the time of the Rashtrakutas. The Kanheri inscriptions[2] dated Ṡ 766 mentions *Akshayanivi* of 200 drammas. It was a common currency in the time of Silaharas. The house tax was paid in the same coins, which is mentioned as 'Grahadramma'[3] in the record of Mummunirāja.

Two Silahara inscriptions mention Poruthadrammas. The Lonad[4] stone inscription of Aparāditya II dated Ṡ 1107 mentions a grant of Poruthidrammas in favour of God Vyomeśvara. The Chanje[5] stone inscription of Someśvare dated Ṡ 1182 records a grant of 162 Porutha dramma in favour of God-Uttareśvar at Śrīsthānaka.

The Silahara kings struck their drammas or the Gadhia coins. It appears that they did not disturb the obverse of Gadhia coins. They put their legend on the reverse. The coins of Chhittaraja of this type weighing 53 grains are so far known.

It therefore may be stated that Gadhia coins and the Drammas of Shilaharas were simultaneously in circulation.

The Yādava silver coins were fairly advanced in technique and referred to in Yādava inscriptions and contemporary Marathi literature. They are unique in the numismatic field. So far as the ratio of gold and silver coins is concerned Thakkur Pheru expressly mentioning silver coins of Singhanadeva tells us that 20 Visvas make 1 dramma and 50 drammas make 1 tanka.[6]

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1. Kolate V. B. *Govindaprabhu Charitra*, p. 32.
2. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII pp. 133.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 62.
4. *Bombay Gazatter* Vol. XIV p. 212.
5. *Ep. Ind.* XXIII p. 281.
6. Ed. Jinavijayamuni :—Rajasthan Puratava Granthamala Thakkur Pheru virachita *Ratnaparikṣādi-Sapta-Grantha Saṅgraha* pp. 22, 23.

THE FIRST KNOWN COIN OF NASIR SHAH, A SLAVE KING OF BENGAL, 836-837/1432-33.

G. S. FARID

(Pl. III. 11)

Recently a coin of Nasir Shah, a slave king of Bengal has come to light. It should, hewever, be noted that he is not the first slave king of Bengal. Earlier, Bayazid Shah (815-817/1412-1414) and his son, Alauddin Firoz (817/1414), whom, Sakhawi,[1] Ibn Hajar,[2] Buchanon Hamilton[3] described as slaves, ruled Bengal for a short peried of about two years. This might have instigated Nasir Khan, who being himself a slave of Shamsuddin Ahmed Shah, the reigning Sultan of Bengal, to revive the slave rule.

The description of the coin is as fellows :

Metal – Silver
Weight – 11gms
Size – 28mm

Obverse : Appears to be in a floral enclosure, seven small circles of which four bear the word ناصرشاه (Nasir Shah) and theree سلطان (Sultan).

Reverse : In a circle with arabasque outside

نائب
غوث الاسلام
والمسلمين خلد (ملكه)
۸-۳۶

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[1] *A 'D Dau' ul-Lami Li Ahlil-Qarni t-tasi,* Vol. 8, p. 28, Quoted by A. Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal*, p. 180.

[2] Z.A. Desai, *Islamic Culture*, July, 1958, p. 202.

[3] *Eastern India*, Vol. 2, p. 618.

The date on the coin has been partially obliterated by shroff-marking. The first figure 8 is clearly visible and the last figure which appears to be 4 is probably 'Alzar' of *Darul Zarb* (wrongly spelt). The stroke of ب (Ba) is also visible.

From the legend it is evident that Nasir Khan contented by calling himself a 'Shah' only without adopting any royal title as was the practice of all other Sultans.

I. *Numismatic Evidence*

Laidlay[1] describes and illustrates a similar coin as that belonging to Nasiruddin Mahmud. This, however, appears to be incorrect because of the fact that the king's name, 'Mahmud' is not there. Instead it has 'Nasir Shah', who can be none other than Nasir Khan, the slave. Laidlay's reading of the word '*As Sultan*' in three circles is also not correct. It is 'Sultan' which is clearly visible from Laidlay's illustration itself. The reading of the reverse side has not been given. Karim[2] gives an incorrect reading of both '*As Sultan*' at the obverse, and '*Al Muwayyidu ba-tayyid al Rahman*' at the reverse. Blochmann[3] has copied Laidlay in the reading of the coin but expressed his doubt whether this coin belongs to Nasiruddin Mahmud.

In all the coins and inscriptions of Nasiruddin Mahmud, his name 'Mahmud' and his royal title, '*Nasir al Duniya wa al Din*' have been mentioned with the exception of one coin[4] which does not bear the title, but of course has his name 'Mahmud'. This extra-ordinary coin is a copy of Nasir Khan's coin described above in as much as that there are circles, and containing the name of the sultan, differing only in the number of circles which is five here, three bearing the name 'Mahmud Shah' and two, '*As Sultan*', while the central blank space is filled up by three smaller circles in the form of hollow dots. The obverse has the Kalima written in Kufic style and is unfortunately undated. It is thus evident that Nasiruddin Mahmud copied the coin of his predecesser Nasir Khan and it must have been struck at the beginning of his reign i.e., 837/1433.

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[1] *JASB*. 1846, Vol. 15, p. 328, Pl. 4.

[2] *Corpus*, Type. N, p. 86

[3] *Contribution to the Geography & History of Bengal*, p. 65.

[4] Laidlay, *JASB*, Vol. 15, 1846, p. 328.

II. *Historical Evidence*

Ibn Hajar and Sakhawi state that Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah died in the month of Rabiul Akhir of the year 837 AH and Sakhawi cites the same year as the date of accession of his son Ahmed Shah.[1]

The epigraphic evidence shows that the latest inscription of Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah[2] and the earliest coin of Ahmad Shah is dated 836 A H[3] thus indicating the termination of the reign of the former and commencement of the latter in that year.

The epigraphic and numismatic evidences falsify the statement of the above scholars and 836 AH being the date of accession of Ahmed Shah appears to be correct.

According to historians,[4] Ahmed Shah was murdered by two of his slaves, Nasir Khan and Shadi Khan whom he had raised to the rank of Amirs. Nasir also eliminated Shadi Khan and ascended the throne styled as Nasir Shah. His reign was short lived as he was himself murdered by the nobles of his court either following his half-a-day's rule or on the seventh day of his accession.

The above facts show that there was undoubtedly a king by the name of Nasir Shah prior to Nasiruddin Mahmud and therefore there is no reason why the above mentioned coin should not be ascribed to him. This event probably took place either at the end of 836 AH or just at the beginning of 837 AH because we do not find any coin of Ahmed Shah of the later date.

Sanyal and Karim have fixed 837 AH as the date of accession of the next king, Nasiruddin Mahmud based on historical evidences.[5] No coin or inscription of Nasiruddin Mahmud from the year 837 AH to 840 AH has so far come to light.

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1. Z.A. Desai, *Op. cit.*, p. 205; Karim, *Op. cit.*, p. 83.
2. Z. A. Desai, *Op. cit.*, p. 205; Karim, Op. cit., p. 83.
3. Marsden, *Numismata*, Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCLXXIIV; Karim, *Op. cit.*, p. 83.
4. Blochmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 63; Riaz (Trans : Salam), p. 119; J. N. Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. 2, pp. 129-130; Karim, *Op. cit.*, p. 145.
5. *JNSI*. Vol. IX, 1 (p. 47) quoted by Karim, *Corpus*, p. 145.

Conclusions

1. Jalaluddin Mohammad Shah ruled from 818-836/1415-1432.
2. Shamsudin Ahmed Shah ruled for about a few months in the year 836/1432.
3. Nasir Shah ruled for a maximum period of seven days in the year 836-837/1432-1433.
4. Nasiruddin Mahmud's reign commences from the beginning of the year 837/1433.

AN UNKNOWN GOLD COIN OF BENGAL SULTAN SHAMSU-D-DIN MUZAFFAR SHAH 896 A H

S. K. BHATT

The sources of the study of the Sultans of Bengal are scanty. The contemporary literary sources hardly give details of the history of the Bengal Sultans. In such circumstances numismatic sources serve a useful purpose in building up the history of Medieval Bengal. Recently Shri D. L. Johri of Indore gave me an opportunity of collecting a photograph alongwith other details, of a gold coin of Shamsu-d-din Muzaffar Shah. The detailed study of the coin has been summarised in this note.

Shamsu-d-din Muzaffar Shah, the 4th Slave King, was the 45th ruler of Bengal who regined during the time of Sikandar Shah II of Delhi. He was a slave of *Badshah* Mahmud Shah the 44th ruler of Bengal and was known as Saiyidi Muzaffar Habsi. At one night Muzaffar, having got the *sardārs* and *paiks* combind with him, killed Mahmud Shah and early the next morning ascended the throne of Bengal, giving himself the title of Muzaffar Shah. Thus Shamsu-d-din ascended the throne after having murderred Mahmud Shah in 896 AH. He was an audacious and blood-thirsty man and killed many learned and pious men of the Sultanate. In the end one of his soldiers, Ala-ud-din, with the support of other *sardars*, entered the seraglio one night and killed Muzaffar Shah and ascended the throne, giving himself the title of Sultan Ala-ud-din. Thus ended the reign of Sultan Muzaffar Shah who hardly ruled for three years and five months.[2]

Only four silver coins of this ruler are published.[3] They have been classified into two catagories—A and B. In catagory A are included those coins which have been issued from *Khijanah* (The Royal Treasury) and appear to be issued on special ocassion. No gold coin of this ruler of either of the catagory is reported so far in numismatic literature. The date of the gold coin is 896 AH; the date of the succession also being

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1. Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Tr. by B. De) Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 441.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 441-42.
3. H. N. Wright's Coinage of the Sultans of Delhi, p. 171.

896 AH. This coin may be regarded as commemorative one; commemorating the succession of Sultan Samsu-d-din Muzaffar Shah to the throne of the Sultanate of Bengal. His full name on the coin under review is 'Shamsu-d-din AbuNasr Muzaffar Shah'.

The details of the coin are given below :—

Metal : AN
Date : 896 AH
Mint : Khizanah (The Royal Treasury).
Weight : 10.525 gramms.
Size : 1".
Legend :

A 94 خزانه

Obverse	Reverse
In ornamented circle	In multifoil
لا اله الا الله	شمس الدنيا والدين ابو النصر
محمد رسول الله	مظفر شاه السلطان
	خلد الله ملكه
	وسلطانه

Margin : Arabesques

ابوبكر ٥ عمر ٥ عثمان ٥ على

THREE SILVER COINS FROM TRIPURA

D. C. SIRCAR AND JAHAR ACHARJEE

(Pl. VII. 4-6)

1. *Two Coins of the Kachari Kings*

In 1531 AD the Kachari king Khunkharā or Khorāphā was defeated by the Ahoms and fled from his capital Dimāpur on the Dhansiri river, 45 miles south of Golaghat. The fugitive's relative named Detsung or Dersongphā was then raised to the throne by the victors, but in a few years, he quarrelled with the Ahoms and was defeated and killed by them (1536 AD). He was succeeded by his son Madanakumāra, born of the daughter of some chief of Gauḍa. The new king, who assumed the name Nirbhayanārāyaṇa, left the Dhansiri valley, retreated to the south and made Maibong on the Mahur his capital. He married an Ahom princess and issued coins; but the Ahom kings regarded him and his successors as their subordinates (*thāpit-sañchit*). The *Kachari Burañji* (pp. 19-20) mentions his capital as Lakhīndrapura (Lakshmindrapura).[1]

Nirbhayanārāyaṇa was succeeded in order by Durlabhanārāyaṇa, Meghanārāyaṇa and Yaśonārāyaṇa. A stone inscription of Meghanārāyana, dated Śaka 1498 (1576 AD), and one of the silver coins of Yaśonārāyaṇa issued in Śaka 1505 (1583 AD) are known for a long time. Among recent discoveries, mention may be made of Meghanārāyaṇa's silver coin of Śaka 1488 (1566 AD).[2]

1-A. Coin of Nirbhayanārāyaṇa, Saka 1451

Find : Said to be obtained from Dakshina Tripura,
Metal : Silver
Weight : 9.7 grammes
Size : Round : 25 mm.
Date : Śaka 1451 (1529 AD)

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[1] See N. N. Acharya, *The History of Medieval Assam*, Gauhati, 1966, pp. 119-21.

[2] See *loc. cit.*; also *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. II, 1927, p. 616, and A. W. Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam*, Allahabad, 1930 pp. 539-40; cf. his note in *Num. Supplt.*, No. XX, in *JASB*, 1912, p. 556, plate XXVIII. See *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. V, 1972, p. 204; etc.

Obverse : Legend in four lines in the central rectangle formed by double straight lines on the four sides within dotted border between lines :

Hara-Gaurī-
charaṇa-parā-
yaṇa-Goḍa-
mā-vaṁśaja-

Reverse : Legend continued in four lines in a similar rectangle :

śrī-śrī-Ni-
rbhayanārā-
yaṇadevasya
Śāke 1451 **(Pl. VII. 4)**

Note : Above the beginning of the legend in line 1, at the centre of the lines below the dot line, there is a globular on the reverse.

The epithet *Goḍa-mā-vaṁśaja* is interesting because it refers to the king's mother as *Goḍa-mā*, i.e. *Gauḍa-mā* or *Gauḍa-māṭā*, though in Sanskrit the passage would correctly be *Gauḍo-matṛi-vaṁśaja* meaning 'born of the Gauḍa mother's clan'. It seems that Nirbhayanārāyaṇa introduced the style in order to indicate his social prestige and that it was adopted by his successors who, however, changed the epithet to *Hāchengasā-vaṁśaja*, 'born of the clan of Ha-tsungtsa'. See Coin No. 1-B below, in the legend of which *Hāchengasā* is written as *Hāchosā*.

1–B. Coin of Yaśonārāyaṇa, Śaka 1502

Find : Said to be obtained from Agartala, Paśchima Tripura.
Metal : Silver
Weight : 9.75 grammes
Slze : Round : 26 mm.
Date : Śaka 1502 (1580 AD)
Obverse : Four-line legend in similar rectangle as on No.1-A though with a straight line of dots between the inner circle and

the double straight lines on the four sides of the central rectangle :

Hara-Gaurī-
charaṇa-pa-
rāyana(*ṇa*)-*Hā-*
chosā-vaṁśa(*śaja*)-

Reverse : Legend continued in four lines in a similar rectangle :

śrī-śrī-yaso (*śo*)-
nārāyana(*ṇa*)-
bhūpālasya
Sā (*Śā*)*ke 1502*

(Pl, VII. 5)

2. Coin of the Koch King Naranārāyaṇa, Śaka 1477 with legend in the negative

Find : Said to be obtained from Dakshina Tripura

Metal : Silver

Weight : 9.75 grammes

Size : Round : 25 mm.

Dote : Śaka 1477 (1555 AD)

Obverse : Four-line legend in similar rectangle :

śrī-śrī-
Śiva-charaṇa-
kamala-madhu-
karasya

Reverse—Legend continued in four lines in similar rectangle :

śrī-śrī-
man-Naranārā-
yaṇa-bhūpāla-
sya Sāke
14 [77]

(Pl. VII. 6)

Note : In the negative legend, the figures of the date are not written in the proper way therefore they do not appear at their regular places. The shape of the figure 7 is not quite normal.

ON A COIN OF ARAKAN FOUND AT CHITTAGONG

SHAMSUL HOSSAIN

(Pl. VII. 7)

Through the kindness of Mr. Anwar Hossain, a Bank Officer in Chittagong, I had an oppertunity to examine a silver coin in his personal collection with inscriptions in three distinctly different characters. According to Mr. Anwar this coin was found in the sea-shore of Banskhali (Long, 92°00′ : Lat 22°00′), an outlying police station in south Chittagong, Bangladesh. He allowed me to publish its content.

At first sight of the coin I could identify two characters of the inscriptions on reverse side as Arabic and Bengali and after sometime the character on the obverse side seemd to me as Burmese. This interesting 'numismatic record' instantaneously reminds me of the sweet and sour relation between the Sultans of Bengal and the kings of Arakan during the medieval period. This class of numismatic record is not totally unknown, but the reading of the Bengali inscription and the incomplete nature of it has posed a question about the name of the king. The reading of the inscription in Burmese character most probably could help in solving the above question which I could not decipher for my inability to read it, so I propose to publish it with a view to bring it to the notice of other numismatists who may be able to throw more light on it.

A description of the coin is given below :

Size : mean radius : 1.112 cm.
thickness : .25 cms.

Weight : 9.222 gm.

Obverse : Burmese script (See Plate VII. 7)

Reverse : This side of the coin is being divided into two parts by horizontal *mātrā* of the Bengali script of the first line of Bengali inscription which forms a regular line and runs from end to end. There remains some portion of a circle on the right and another horizontal line below the first line of the Bengali inscription which also forms *mātrā* of the second line of Bengali script which is badly cut out, presumably due to emphatic impression of the die. **(Pl. VII. 7)**

The upper portion of the coin contains the Kalima in two lines in Arabic script and the lower portion contains two lines of Bengali inscription. The first line of Bengali inscription is almost clear and the word प्राथान (Prāthāna) is intelligible. Preceding this word प्राथान (Prāthāna) the remnant of medial remains. I suggest the reading of the second line as राजा (Rājā), but I could not read with satisfaction the Bengali inscription due to its incomplete nature, though my suggestive reading stands प्राथान राजा (Prāthāna Rājā).

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

प्राथान

राजा

Following Phayre, Harvey and others, Prof. Abdul Karim has published a list of Arakan kings in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* in his article on a medieval Arakan coin.[1] There are names of five Arakan kings who have assumed Muslim names along with their original Burmese names. *In Arākān Rāj Sabhāi Bānglā Sāhitya*[2] some additional names of the Arakan kings are available. Unfortunately our *Prāthāna Rājā* or a name similar or resembling to it is not found in those lists, and probably this king has not assumed any Muslim name as the word *Prāthāna* suggests, but used Bengali script on the reverse side of the coin to write his Burmese name along with Kalima in Arabic. The total design of this coin is one like the coins of the medieval Sultans of Bengal. The influence of Muslim culture on Arakan court and their generous patronisation of the Bengali literary culture is very much evident in this numismatic record. The Bengali script has undergone a process of gradual evolution and the designer of coins in the Arakan court was quite aware of this formatic development of Bengali script as seen in this coin. The Bengali script of the coin of Salim Shah (Meng-Radja-gyi)[1] is proto-Bengali in nature but in this coin the script is in a fine developed form.

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[1] Abdul Karim : A medieval Coin of Arakan, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXII, 1960, Varanasi, India. (hereinafter Karim : Arakan Coin)

[2] Muhammad Enamul Hoque and Abdul Karim Sahityavisarad : *Arakn Raj Sabai Bangla Sahitya*, pp : 6-7, Chittagong, 1935.

In Bengali literature flourished in Arakan we found Bengali form of Burmese names of the Arakan kings viz. *Śri Sudharma* for Thiri Thudhamma and *Chādo Umādār* for Thado Mintar etc., and Prof. Enamul Hoque and Abdul Karim Sahityavisarad have compiled names of those kings in their book cited above. But we do not find our *Prāthāna* there too.

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[1] Karim : Arakan Coin; *Catalogue of Coins in the Cabinet of the Chittagong University Museum*, pp. 27 (Coin No 296; plate XIV), Chittagong, 1979.

A UNIQUE COPPER COIN OF MALHAR RAO HOLKAR I

P. P. KULKARNI & C. S. GUPTA

(Pl. VII. 8)

The coin was found at Yavatmal by our friend Shri R. M. Saklecha, an enthusiastic coin collector and an active member of the Coin Society of Nagpur. We are grateful to him for allowing us to study the coin.

The coin can be described as follows :

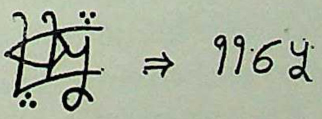
Metal : Copper.
Weight : 12.230 gms.
Size : Diameter 2.1 cms.

Obverse : Nāgarī legend in three horizontal lines. The die being bigger than the coin, much of the legend has gone out of flan. In the first line, traces of some letters are seen, one of them is probably '*ka*'. The second line can be read as (*Hu*) *laka* (*ra*). The first letter of third line can not be ascertained, what follows in *Sam*|| (two verticle lines) 1(8) (17/*18).

Reverse : In square linear frame, the date 1175 in Nāgari numerals arranged in artistic fashion like '*Tughra*' characters. To left, outside the frame, a vertical decorative device.

On the obverse, the legend can also be '*Halkar*' instead of '*Hulkar*', *Halkar* is found inscribed on the coins of Tukojirao II.[1]

The date on the reverse can be very well read 1175 as



The date is clearly in Hijri era equivalent to AD 1761-62 or Vikram Samvat 1817-18. Thus the figure on the obverse must be 1817 or 1818. The figure (18) preceded by the letter *Saṁ*, which is an abbriviated form of Saṁvat, leaves no room to this restoration.

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[1] R. K. Sethi, S. K. Bhatt, R. Holkar, '*A study of Holkar State Coinage*', p. 39, pl. XIII—225.

The first reference to the Holkar coinage, is that of a mint at the famous Panipet war. During the campaign of 1761, when Sadashivrao was facing acute shortage of money, he alongwith Scindia and Holkar coined rupees which were stamped as '*Bhaushahi*' '*Jankoshahi*' and '*Malharshahi*'.[1]

Malharrao had established a mint at Chandwad fort. The silver mint was closed in 1829 AD and the copper mint in 1830 AD.[2] It is also known that Malharrao had established a mint at Malharnagar.

Despite having these three references of Malharrao's mints nothing is known about his coins except for a unique rupee of Malharnagar mint of AH 1174/7.[3]

The date of the above mentioned copper coin falls exactly in the same period. Hence it can be conveniently attributed to Malharrao Holkar I.

This is probably one of the earliest issues as it differs from all the known coins of Holkar State and does not show any influence of Mughals except for the date. However, more cannot be said about it till we find some more specimens.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 105, Pl. I. 1.

A NEW TYPE OF RĀMA-TAṄKĀ (HANUMĀNA CARRYING MOUNTAIN TYPE) WITHOUT LEGEND

S. B. OTA

(Pl. VIII. 1.)

The Rāma-ṭaṅkā described below was purchased by me from a coppersmith in Biswanath Gali at Varanasi in 1978. Presently this token is in my own collection, the particulars of which are as follows :

Metal : Brass; shape : Round; Weight : 11.7335 gms;
Diameter : 3.00 cm, ; Thickness : 0.02 cm.

Obverse : Within dotted border Rāma and Sitā seated on the throne under the jewelled parasol (*chhatra*) with Lakshmaṇa on the right, Bharata and Śatrughna on the left side, and Hanumāna is shown below the throne (*āsana*) praying with folded hands as identified by Sircar.[1] No legend.

This above depiction is of common occurrence on a number of Rāma-taṅkās. The scene represented on the obverse is obviously that of Rāma's coronation (*Rāmābhisheka)* or durbar (*Rāmasabhā*) as suggested by Shastri.[2]

Reverse : Within dotted border Hanumāna in centre standing to left. His tail is curled up goes behind the right hand and then passes again behind the crown. He is shown wearing ornamented underwear (*jānghiā*) the part of which is hanging between the two thighs, ornamented jacket, a pearl-bordered head-dress and bangles in right hand. The upper garment (i.e. jacket) is artistically shown; the one end of the scarf is hanging down the right arm, whereas the other end form the left arm. He holds a mace *(gadā*) in his left hand resting on his waist, so the mace's head is shown over the left shoulder. The right hand holds up a mountain. The legs of Hanumāna are shown in such a position as if he is flying. Here the artist has tried to show him flying in the night. To make the figure of Hanumāna more realistic in flying position, some horizontal lines probably, indicative of cloud or air, are shown near his legs. At the same time the star depicted near the right hand side towards the periphery of the token face is the indication of night. This side of the token is also devoid of any legend.

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[1] Sircar, D.C. *Studies in Indian Conis*, Delhi, 1968, p. 399.

[2] Shastri, A. M., *JNSI* XXXVII, pt. I-II, p. 173.

The present token is significant because most probably this specimen is the first evidence of Rāma-taṅkā without any legend. Probably the Rāma cult became very much popular among the people during the later phase of Bhakti cult which resulted the dropping of legends on these tokens. Secondly, the river side (which depicts the figure of Hanumāna) is not so much artistically ornamented unlike Sircar[1] and Shastri's[2] published specimens.

On the present specimen Hanumāna is shown flying with a mountain in his hand. This mountain is plucked from the Himalayas by Hanumāna which contains the magic herbs called '*Sanjivani būṭī*' in order to revive the mortally wounded Lakshmaṇa. The mountain also symbolises Hanumāna's ability to overcome insuperable obstacles[3] and the mace in the other hand also symbolises strength and is used to destroy evil forces and restore peace and righteousness.

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1. Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, 3
2. Shastri, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 173
3. Aryan, K. C. and S. Aryan (year of publication is not mentioned) *Hanumān in Art and Mythology*. Delhi, Rekha Prakashan, p. 20.

A GOLD PAGODA OF ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

VARIKUTI VENKATA SUBBA REDDY

(Pl. VIII. 2.)

Recently a gold Pagoda (Varaha) was found by me in the possession of Mr. R. Jaya Prakash Reddy, a colleague and close friend of mine. He had obtained it from a ryot at a village called Aguva Rama Puram in Badvel taluk of Cuddapah district in Andhra Pradesh.[1]

The coin which is pure gold, circular (diameter of 1.2 cms,) and weighs 3.8 gms. On the obverse it bears the figure of Venkateswara with his two consorts namely Alivelu Manga and Lakshmī Devi, and the granulated convex surface on the reverse.

The present type of coin is generally known as Three-swami Pagoda. These Pagodas were minted in Madras by the English East India Company in the 17th century AD and also in Nagapatnam by the Dutch Company.

It is not known whether the English copied the Dutch in preparing such Pagodas or issued their own. But it is certain that the English must have copied the Portonovo Pagodas of Dutch which were having the single figure of Vishṇu on one side and the convex granulated on the other in about 1691 AD.

The English also issued another type of Pagodas in 1730 and sometime between 1735 and 1741 with slight changes on either side of the figure of Vishṇu. These Pagodas were prevelent in South India upto 1815 AD.

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[1] The present coin is fitted to a string and is being used by the possessor as finger ring. He is under the impression that the coin was issued by Lord Venketeshwara Himself and he is not willing to remove the string. Therefore I could not take the photograph of the reverse side of the coin.

INVESTIGATING THE INTRODUCTION OF COINAGE IN INDIA—A REVIEW OF RECENT RESEARCH

JOE CRIBB

Since silver punch—marked coins were rediscovered in India by 19th century collectors and scholars, there has been no doubt in the academic mind that they represent the earliest coined money of the South Asian subcontinent. The rash assertions of the first scholars to discuss them, such as Prinsep[1] who believed that the idea for these coins was derived from the coins of the Indo-Greek successors of Alexander the Great, or such as Cunningham[2] who held that India's earliest coins were its own invention as early as c. 1000 BC, are now no longer given any credence. It has long been recognised that, in spite of the eminent academic abilities of such scholars, their assertions were merely opinions built on guess work and not on historical fact. Today, with the wisdom of hindsight and with the fruit of their labours and those of their successors available, it is possible to speak with far more certainty about the origins of coinage in India.

In this brief review I intend to restrict my discussion exclusively to the validity of the historical methodology that has been used over the last few decades in the attempt to establish when India's first coins came to be made. I will conclude this discussion with a brief outline of my own views as to what I consider the most appropriate application of those aspects of the methodology which are relevant to the available data.

Because no definitive evidence is available to students of Indian numismatics on the date of issue of India's earliest coins a variety of techniques within the historical discipline has been adopted in the search for a solution. The coins themselves do not bear dates or names of datable rulers, nor are there historical records stating who issued the first coins and in what year. More indirect sources of information have to be sought. In recent years much energy and erudition has been devoted to collecting information, which it is hoped will produce the evidence for dating India's earliest coins, from the following fields of investigation into primary source materials: (1) Literary Criticism, (2) Archaeoloy, (3) Numismatics.

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[1] Prinsep J., *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, (Ed. Thomas Ed.) London, 1858, p. 53.

[2] Cunningham A., *Coins of Ancient India*, London, (1891), p. 43.

1. Chronological Evidence from Literary Sources

The critical study of the religious and secular literature of ancient India has yielded an abundant supply of information on the earliest metallic monies and coinages of the sub-continent. They inform us of the mint administration, manufacturing techniques, currency administration, denominations, weight standards, the control of forgeries, and the daily use of the coins. The increase in our knowledge from these sources achieved in recent years has been considerable, but the chronological information derived from them is very limited.

In order to make use of literary evidence in the attribution of particular coins to a particular date several pre-requisites must be fulfilled. It is first necessary to be clear that the objects being mentioned in the literature are coined and not uncoined metallic currency. It is also necessary to be certain of the date of the literary source and to be clear that it does not contain added material of a later date. Altekar[1] and others have shown beyond doubt that the metallic currency referred to in the *Vedas* and many other early religious texts is not coinage, but either the use of metallic jewellery as a mean of transferring or storing wealth or of weighed amounts of precious metal as a means of exchange etc. It is essential when looking for written evidence of the early coins to recognise that, when a coinage is based on the use of weighed pieces of metal and the names of the weights and of the coins are the same, the mention of a weight in a particular text by such a name cannot be used as evidence of coinage. Only when coin names not relatable to particular weights are used or when the text specifically mentions such a name with specific attributes that can only be applied to a coin should this be used as evidence of coinage.

Only two Sanskṛita texts of significant antiquity, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, have been put forward with confidence and concensus as referring to metallic money in a sufficiently specific way to suggest that the punch-marked coins are being spoken about in them. The most specific references are in the *Arthaśāstra* of

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[1] Altekar A. S., *JNSI*, XV, pp. 1-26.

Kauṭilya which describes the making of false coins and names two officers of state responsible for coin production and issue. On the basis of this it is presumed that the "*paṇa*" and their fraction which he describes as the circulating medium of exchange made from alloyed silver and from copper are in fact coins. The terminology used suggests, but does not state categorically that these silver coins were "punch-marked coins". Pāṇini's references to metallic currency do not contain any descriptions of coin production or management, but indicate the value and purchasing power of certain units of gold and silver. The passages in which he lays down the grammatical constructions used in the descriptions of the monetary functions of both these metals do not show any distinction in terminology between their monetary role. As it is well known that no gold coins were ever made, nor have any such objects ever been discovered, it has to be concluded that the monetary use of gold being described by Pāṇini was by units of weight. The same conclusion has also to be drawn for his descriptions of the use of silver. Since no one can guess on the basis of what Pāṇini says of this whether these weighed pieces of silver were coins or not, it would be a mistake to suggest because the terminology of weights he used was later applied to coins, that he is describing coins.

The reason why many scholars are now more inclined to accept that Pāṇini was referring to coins in these cases was that his earliest commentators showed the same inclination. There can be no doubt on other grounds that, when Pāṇini's commentators got to work, coins were already in use; his commentators, such as Pātañjali, therefore applied his terminology to the form of money they knew from first hand experience. These commentators were correct to do so as they were only concerned with correct linguistic practice, but modern historians using Pāṇini's work as evidence of the historicity and chronology of such practices have a greater responsibility to understand exactly what Pāṇini was writing about. Prasad[1] has already made something of this point in relation to distinguishing between weight and coin denominations, but has not seen his own point clearly as he has fallen into the same trap when dealing with the sentence of Pāṇini's which is used by those advocating the case that he refers to punch-marked coins. Pāṇini (v. 2. 120) makes the statement that "a form"

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[1] Prasad, M., in Seminar Papers on *Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins* (Ed. A. K. Narain), pp. 161-170.

(*rūpa*) when "stamped" (*āhata*) or when "praise-worthy" (*praśaṁsa*) takes the ending *ya* (i.e. *rūpya*). His commentors being familiar with coinage which was made by striking immediately saw in this a reference to coinage and stated that when a coin (*dīnāra*) was stamped (*āhata*) it could be called "*rūpya*" i.e. "formed" etc.[1] But this commentary was made no earlier than the lst century AD which is the earliest that the term "*dīnāra*" derived from the Roman "*denarius*" could have reached India. When what Pāṇini said is examined in its own context, it can only be said that he was familiar with the fact that a "form" could be made by striking—something known long before the invention of coinage in most parts of the world. In conclusion it can only be said that, whether Pāṇini was familiar with coins or not, he did not put any information into his *Ashṭadhyāyī* telling us about it.

If the date of Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* were certain it would be justified in a limited way to put forward an argument exsilencio that at that date coins probably were not yet known in India. Recent opinion[2] on the date of Pāṇini places him in the period 6th-3rd century BC. No firm evidence can locate him within this period. If the date of composition of the *Arthaśāstra* were known it could also be argued that coinage had been introduced by that date.

It has also been observed that there are many references to coins in the Buddhist *Jātaka* stories, but the anecdotal nature of these texts and the manner or their transmission by oral traditions prevents any chronological conclusions being drawn from such references, which did not assume their present form until a much later date than the other texts mentioned above.

One non Indian literary source refers to coinage in ancient India. The Roman historian Quintus Curtius stated (*Life of Alexander* VIII 12, 42) that Alexander the Great received as tribute 80 talents of "*argenti signati*" i. e. marked silver from the king of Taxilā c. 325 BC. Curtius was writing in the first century AD, but it is probable that he was using contemporary sources as his authority. As has been observed elsewhere,[1] the interpretation of *"argenti signati"* as punch-marked silver coins does not conflict with other evidence,

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[1] Agrawala V. S., *JNSI*, XV, pp. 27-41.

[2] Scharfe H., Grammatical Literature, *A History of India* (1977), p. 88, has shown that Pāṇini's date can be fixed only approximately. He must be older than Kātyāyana (c. 250 BC) his first commentator, but his proximity to the Vedic literature suggests the 5th or may be 6th century BC.

The conclusions one can draw from the use of literary sources as a means of dating Indla's earliest coins are therefore very meagre. The evidence of Curtius, as will be shown below, is acceptable. The evidence from Pāṇini does not refer to coins. The religious texts, although it cannot be doubted that they inform us of the function etc. of the coins in commerce etc., do not provide any chronological information. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya does provide clear evidence of the manufacture, issue etc. of early coins, but there is no certainty as to when this evidence was included in the text. An acceptance of the traditional attribution of the *Arthaśāstra* to the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya (c. 325-300 BC) would provide the same evidence as Curtius i.e. that coinage already existed in India i.e. before the end of the 4th century BC. However the traditional attribution of the *Arthaśāstra* to that period is much contested and it is possible to demonstrate that it contains later material (possibly even several centuries later).[2] It cannot therefore be used as a corrobation of Curtius, nor even as a key to the state of development of the coinage, unless one is prepared to overlook all the arguments concerning the integrity of its traditional attribution.

None of the Indian literary sources fulfil the requirements which would render their historical evidence of any chronological significance to the dating of India's earlier coins. Curtius' evidence is not contemporary, but because of archaeological evidence it can be accepted as plausible. One is therefore obliged to conclude that no positive evidence on the dating of India's earliest coins is obtainable from literary sources.

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1. Allan J., *BMCAI*, p. 14.
2. Trautmann T. R., *Kauṭilya and the Arthashastra*, Leyden, (1971) p. 5-7, has outlined the arguments for and against the attribution of the *Arthaśāstra* to the Kauṭilya who was the minister of Chandragupta Maurya. By means of a statistical analysis of the language of the Arthaśāstra Trautmann has demonstrated (p. 175) "that Kauṭilya cannot have been the author of the Arthaśāstra as a whole and his examination of datable features in book 2, which contains the references to coins and coin production, leads him to state (p. 184) that "the evidence... points to c. AD 150" for its date of composition.

2. Chronological Evidence from Archaeology

Coins can be dated by archaeological evidence in two ways : by their occurence in a datable stratum in a carefully excavated context or by their association in an unquestionable context with dated objects. It is clear from excavations at virtually every site in the South Asian subcontinent that silver punch-marked coins are the earliest coins found in stratified deposits. Ray[1] has outlined the nature of such evidence. Unfortunately although it is possible to pin-point the strata where coins first appear, the dating of these strata is not so easy. Whereas in the historical period in Europe the nature of European historical and literary traditions have provided so many fixed dates to work from that archaeologists can work within fairly precise dating criteria. Indian archaeology has virtually no fixed points to operate from. The strata in which coins are found can be defined in two ways, they contain a form of pottery called Northern Black Polished Ware (NBP) and Radio Carbon 14 (C14) dating has been applied to organic materials contained in them.[2] Archaeologists have shown that coinage normaly appeared subsequent to the introduction of NBP in any particular site. It is absolutely necessary that chronological data derived from archaeological strata, C14 and associated artefacts should only be used for dating by application of the *terminus ante quem* thereby derived. Even though the evidence shows that coins were introduced at a date subsequent to c. 500 BC, this is only a *terminus post quem* and does not show when the event happened. The earliest *terminns ante quem* derived from archaeological evidence obtained in this way is only c. 200 BC.

The other dating method available to archaeologists can only be used when a definitely datable object is found associated with punch-marked coins in such a way that one can be certain that they were deposited together. The only occasions when this has happened with punch-marked coins are the hoards from the North West of the subconinent which contain punch-marked coins deposited with datable Greek coins. (I will discuss these in more detail below in relation to the numismatic evidence). The earliest of these hoards is important as the earliest

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1. Ray S. C., in Seminar Papers on the *Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins* (Ed. A. K. Narain), pp. 26-38.
2. Gupta S. P., in Seminar Papers on *Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins* (1966) (Ed. A. K. Narain), pp. 39-43.

absolutely datable context for punch-marked coins. It was found at Chaman Huzuri, Kabul in Afghanistan.[1] The hoard contained a number of "bent bar" coins, a form of punch-marked coins local to the North West of the sub-continent, particularly Gandhāra, together with a large group of Greek coins and another group of locally made copies of Greek coins. The hoard can be given a precise *terminus post quem* because it contained a barbarous copy based on an issue of Athenian coins which began in the 390s BC. Recent opinion dates the striking of the barbarous copy in the hoard to the 360s BC, on the basis of another example being found in a hoard of Babylonian coins deposited in the 340s BC.[2] The other hoards associate silver punch-marked coins with Greek coins issued c. 317 BC, c. 240 and c. 180 BC.[3]

Archaeological evidence of associations can only be used as a definer of a *terminus post quem* for the existence of the Indian coins. This *terminus post quem* combined with the *terminus ante quem* form the stratigraphic evidence demonstrates that the punch-marked coinage was already in existence during the period c. 360 BC—c. 200 BC. This agrees with the evidence of Curtius and Kautilya, if, as tradition suggests, it can be accepted that they both contain data derived from the late 4th century BC. In conclusion the only chronological conclusions that can be drawn from the archaeological evidence are that coins probably existed in India by 360 BC and that the two literary sources pointing to the same conclusion are possibly accurate.

3. Chronological Evidence from Numismatics

Numismatic evidence used in the dating of coins is of two kind, internal and external. No scientific dating techniques for metals have so far been discovered, such as those used for dating carbon remains (Radio Carbon 14 dating) or for fired clay (Thermoluminescence dating), therefore the only internal chronological evidence is that derived from elements of the designs of the coins which refer to persons or events of known date. In this way it can be accepted that a Roman coin with a portrait of the Emperor Nero stating that it was issued during his reign is to be dated between AD 54 and 68 as it is known from Roman historians that he reigned during that period.

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[1] Curiel R. and Schlumberger D., (1953) *Tresors Monetaires d' Afghanistan* (*Paris*) and Bivar A. D.H., (1954) *NC*, New Series, XV, pp. 163-172.

[2] Le Rider G., (1972) Tetradrachme "an lion" et Imitations d' Athenesen Babylonie *Sweizer Munzblatter* Basel, Vol. 22, pp. 1-7.

[3] Walsh E. H. C., in *MASI*, no. 39, 1939; and Audouin R. and Bernard P., Tresor de Monnaies Indien neset (1973-74). Indo Greques d' Ai Khanonm in *Revue Numismatique*, Paris. XV, pp. 238-89 and Vol. XVI, pp. 6-41.

Unfortunately the designs of India's earliest coins provide no evidence of that nature. Attempts have been made to link particular punch marks with the Mauryan Emperors, Chandragupta and Aśoka, whose approximate dates are known, but since these attributions are purely conjectural and not supported by the statement of a single literary source or inscription it would be misleading to use them for dating any of the coins. The problems inherent in such a method of dating can be seen in the attribution by different authors of the same "crescent on three arches" symbol to either Chandragupta or Aśoka or even to all the Mauryan kings.

Because the punch-marked coins do not just consist of a series of unattributable designs, some other elements intrinsic to the coins can be of chronological significance. This significance is only of a relative nature, but does provide a framework for their issue which would permit any absolute chronological data to be used in their dating. It is in this area that the most constructive and informative work has been done on the punch-marked coins in recent years. Pioneers, such as Durga Prasad, Allan, Gupta and Mitchiner[1] and many other numismatists, have been at work describing and classifying the punch-marked silver coins, so that it has been demonstrated beyond doubt that the punches were applied to the coins according to definite procedures. By utilising evidence, such as the association of coins with different punches in hoards, the examination of coin wear within hoards, the identification of weight standards, the local nature of some issues, the development of punch types and flan manufacture, it is now possible to detect many previously unsuspected facts about the coins. Three phases of coinage have been defined, 1) an early phase of local coinage, (2) a middle phase of a national coinage and (3) a period of degeneration of the national coinage giving rise to some local issues. Within these phases development in weight standards, flan making technology and in the organisation of punch design and application have been established so that the approximate position of any one coin within the period of issue of the punch-marked silver coinage can now be given some form of definition. This is a major advance on the form of classification available to those such as Durga Prasad and Allan who pioneered these techniques. Much work, however, remains to be done. It is always hoped that more material will continue to be discovered, but even now more than half of the hoards of such coins discovered in India remain unpublished. Without evidence of this nature being available for examination a concensus of its significance cannot be achieved.

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[1] Durga Prasad *JASB*, NS, 1934, XLV, no. 317, pp. 5-6; 1937, XLVII, no. 343, pp. 51-92; Allan J., *op. cit.*; Gupta P. L., *The Amravati Hoard of Silva Punch-Marked Coins*, Hyderabad; Mitchiner M., *Tke origin of Indian Coinage*, London, 1973.

Is there any way in which this establishment of a relative chronology can provide an answer to the key question of when the silver punch-marked coinage began? Several scholars have applied external numismatic evidence by two different methodological approaches in the attempt to tie the relative chronology down and develop an absolute chronology from it.

The first and most obvious method available here is the apparently absolute dating provided by the coin hoards, mentioned above, which contain datable Greek coins. The hoard from Kabul (Chaman Huzuri) with a *terminus post quem* of c. 360 BC contained punch-marked coins of only one type issued during the first phase of locally issued coins, as defined by the work on relative chronology. Two hoards found at the ancient site of Taxilā in Pakistan contained coins of the middle phase of national coinage.[1] The earlier of them has a *terminus post quem* of c. 323 BC, as it contained a silver coin of the Greek king Philip III Aridaeus (323-317 BC of the Babylon mint) and two earlier Greek coins. The national coins in the hoard were issued in the early part of this phase. The hoard also contained some coins of the early local coinage phase. The later hoard from Taxilā has a *terminus post quem* of c. 250 BC because it contains a gold coin of the Greek king Diodotus of Bactria whose reign began before 246 BC (the death of Antiochus II of Syria from whom he ceded). The national coins it contains are of a later part of this phase. Another hoard also containing later national punch-marked coins has been found at the Greek site of Ai Khanoum in Northern Afghanistan.[1] There are also in the hoard six Indo-Greek coins of king Agathocles issued c. 180 BC. This *terminus post quem* from the hoard accords well with the mid 2nd century BC date of deposit suggested by its discovery in the city's last Greek occupation level which terminated c. 140 BC.

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[1] Walsh E. H. C., *op. cit.*

The dating of coins within hoards is not a straight forward matter. It has been generally assumed that because the Greek coins in the two hoards from Taxilā are in unworn condition that the hoards were deposited within a few years of their *termini post quem*, but because these coins are isolated examples and, from the compositions of the hoards, were clearly not the normal circulating currency of the area, it cannot be ruled out that their condition resulted, not from their being deposited soon after their issue, but from their being kept unused as curiosities or good luck pieces. Only the Kabul hoard contains coins in sufficiently large quantities to suggest that both the Greek and Indian coins in it were circulating together. Given that this hoard remains a unique record not too much weight should be given to the evidence it presents. In short these three hoards, although they give us clear *termini post quem* of their deposit, do not tell us how they were assembled or how long after those *termini* they were deposited.

D. D. Kosambi's work[2] gives us a very clear example of the dangers of the application of a hypothetical approach to the development of chronological conclusions from such uncorroborated data. Accepting without question that the earlier Taxilā hoard was deposited c. 317 BC (the death of Philip III Aridaeus), he proceeded to construct a chronology on the basis of a statistical analysis of the number of countermarks added to the punch-marked coins subsequent to their first issue. He hypothesised that the countermarks were applied periodically and therefore the coins with more countermarks must show greater loss of weight due to time in circulation. His analysis of the statistics demonstrated that such a hypothesis could be validated. A coin with five countermarks showed approximately 2% loss of metal, with ten countermarks 4% loss and with twenty countermarks 8% etc. He then proposed on a hypothetical basis what he considered the period of time between each countermark might have been.

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[1] Audowin R. and Bernard P., *op. cit.*

[2] Kosambi D. D., in *New Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1941-42, pp. 1-35; 48-76.

His suggestion was 12 years or possibly 15. On the basis of this conjectural description of the significance of the marks on the coins, he suggested that the earliest coins in the hoard, i.e. those with 20 countermarks or more were made between 240-300 years before his estimated date of the deposit of the hoard—i.e. c. 616-557 BC. Although it is impossible to fault the mathematics of this and Kosambi undoubtedly demonstrated that there was a relationship between the number of countermarks on each coin and the loss of metal from it, his conclusions are completely meaningless. There is no basis for him to assume (a) that the hoard was deposited in c. 317 BC (b) that the countermarks were applied at fixed periods (c) that the loss of metal was related to time in circulation and (d) that coin wear proceeds at a rate of 1% per 30-40 years. Taking different (equally unprovable but equally possible) hypothetical bases for examining the data, one could suggest that, each time the coins were counter-marked, metal was lost from them by the act of counter-marking or by the friction used during a check of fineness with a touch stone, or that the coin of Philip III Aridaeus had been dug up previously by the depositor of the hoard decades after it was first made, then was kept as a lucky charm for a few more decades before he hid it again with the hoard. Furthermore the rate of metal loss due to coin wear is impossible to assess and the probability of its being anything like that suggested by Kosambi does not accord with attested measurements of loss from wear in silver coins over known periods.[1]

The weight loss measured in the earlier Taxilā hoard could represent a period of as little as twenty years on the basis of published statistics even if it could be shown to represent loss by wear through use. Kosambi's deductions from the evidence of the weights of the coins in this hoard are virtually meaningless, yet it is now an accepted dictum that the punch-marked coins in this hoard were issued over a period of at least 100 years if not longer.

The other method used to make absolute the relative chronology of the silver punch-marked coins which has now been constructed is to match it to the pattern of known historical events in ancient India. The transition from the early phase of local coins through the middle phase of national coinage to the final phase of a disintegration of the national coinage is made to fit the political events relating to the subjection of the local states of Northern India by the rulers of Magadhan and the subsequent Mauryan Empire and its eventual collapse. The resulting chronology places the local coinages in the 7-5th centuries BC, the national coinage in the 4th-3rd century BC and the phase of disintegrating in the 2nd century BC, with necessary but not clearly defined overlaps in different areas. There is an irresistible logic in this method and an application of its results to the two Taxilan hoards with know *termini post quem* does not create any contradictions. Unfortunately there is no hard evidence to uphold it. Because a hypothetical explanation of historical events offers a logical framework, it does not follow that it must be the correct one. Its simplicity obscures several uncertainties which render it unacceptable as a factual account. It cannot be presumed that changes in coin designs, weight standards and minting technology accompanied changes in the political situation. No sources either literary or inscriptional provide information about the political organisation of coinage production and distribution in ancient India.

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[1] Cribb J., Two Seventeenth Century Hoards and their evidences of Coin Wear in *British Numismatic Journal*, London, 1978, Vol. XLVII, pp. 113-117.

It is necessary to examine the details upon which this "historico-numismatic" method of dating the punch-marked coins and therefore of establishing when they were first issued has been based. As stated above a fairly clear relative sequencing of the coin issues has already been established and this is the key point around which the historical facts have been constructed. P. L. Gupta and M. Mitchiner[1] are the foremost proponents of this approach. This method links together three separate techniques of dating.

The first technique is closely related to that used by Kosambi outlined above. The date c. 317 BC for the deposit of the earlier Taxila hoard is accepted without question and because the Indian coins in it show wear, it is presumed that they were issued prior to the date of the deposit of the hoard. It is also presumed that the least worn issues in the hoard were made c. 317 BC and are therefore attributable to the Indian king Chandragupta Maurya who is known from Greek historians to have reigned at about that time (c. 320-c. 295 BC). The unreliability of this approach has been pointed out above.

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[1] Gupta P. L., in Seminar Papers on *Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins*, pp. 1-18; *Coins*, New Delhi, Mitchiner M., *op. cit.*

The second technique is based on the use of evidencc of find spots. If a coin or a hoard of coins is found in a particular area it is presumed to have been issued there. For such assumptions to be made it is necessary for a full statistical base to be established. If the excavation of a given site regularly yields a type of coins which is not normally found elsewhere, it is safe to assume that type of coin circulated exclusively in the area of the site. The establishment of such a fact is possible and for some of the local series of the first phase of the punch-marked coins this has been achieved. The "bent-bar" coins have been found so frequently in Gandhāra and its neighbouring areas that it would be acceptable to conclude that they were used and probably issued in that region. Gupta[1] has attributed a coinage to the ancient region of Mulaka (around modern Hyderabad) on the basis of one coin of previously unknown design having been collected (not even excavated) in that area. Such an attribution is an abuse of the technique. By the more scientific application of this technique local coinage in the various regions in Northern India have been established and their approximate area of circulation determined. This does not provide chronological data, only evidence of local currency being used in these areas. Gupta and Mitchiner have both presumed to draw chronological conclusions from evidence of this nature and I will show, when I have described the third technique, how this is not justifiable.

The third technique of the "historico-numismatic" method is the linking of numismatic change with political change. Many instances can be found in European history of changes being made to coinage as the result of political events. The remarkable reigns of the Roman Emperor Constantine and the Frankish king and Emperor Charlemagne were marked by several equally remarkable reforms of the coinage. However the reigns of important rulers of equal stature such as the Roman Emperor Nero or the English king William the Conqueror would not be noticeable in numismatic terms if their names were not on their coins. It is not a justifiable expectation that the political effects of Chandragupta Maurya's accession to the Magadhan throne would have had any effect on the coinage. It is equally possible that it did or did not, but without his name on the coins, there is no way of determining which of these possibilities actually occurred.

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[1] Gupta P. L., *Coins*, p. 142.

Using the first technique as their starting point, a time-table for the whole silver punch-marked coinage has been worked out, by the proponents of this method, through a chronological application of the other two techniques. It is argued that the national coinage which pre-dates the deposit of the earlier Taxilā hoard should be apportioned to the rulers of the Magadhan Empire named in the Purāṇic, Buddhist and Jain texts and that the local coinages of the earliest phase should be attributed to the states which preceded the Magadhan Empire on the basis of whichever states territory they have been found in. In this way the earliest series of the national coinage is attributed by both Mitchiner and Gupta[1] to the period of Ajātaśatru (c. 493-462 BC) and local coinages have been attributed to the states existing before Ajātaśatru and his successors drew them into his Empire, such as Kośala, Vatsa, Gandhāra, Kaliṅga etc. and to Magadha itself. The two uncertainties obscured by the precision and logic of these attributions are the lack of evidence of any firmly datable points within the national series and the absence of any chronological conclusions derivable from the geographical evidence of coin circulation.[2]

Is it justifiable or even necessary to expect the approximately 503[3] distinguishable varieties of the national silver five punch-marked coinage to have been issued over the c. 300 years that has been suggested on the basis of this "historico-numismatic" dating method ? The proponents of such a distribution would be expecting an average of 1.67 new issues to appear each year. As it is universally accepted that the significance of the individual punches in relation to the issue of the coins cannot be determined, it is not possible to infer that the varieties that have been recorded refer to a chronological sequence. Gupta[4] has shown that changes in the flan making technology and in the general nature of the punches does show that the national coinage went through six phases which, on the basis of hoard evidence and over-strikes, must represent a chronological progression. These six phases would, therefore, according to this method, cover an average 50 years each. In order to illustrate the dubious nature of such assumptions being made on the basis of deductions drawn from an arbitrary distribution of phases and varieties over a temporal plane, a comparison with a coinage of a similar nature issued over a known length of time with an even larger level of variations would be worth consideration.

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[1] Mitchiner M., *op. cit.*, 1973, p. 127; Gupta P. L., *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[2] Sircar D. C., in Seminar Papers on *Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins*, 1966, pp. 155-158.

[3] Gupta P. L., *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 16-17 and Seminar Papers on *Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins*, (Ed. Narain) p. 149-153.

In 9th-11th century England, as in India of the national series silver punch-marked coinage period, the main official currency was a silver coinage of a unified national standard. During the period AD 979-1100 there were 8 kings of 4 different dynasties and 2 periods of foreign rule none of which are discernible in the nature of the coinage issued. However 40 discernible phases of coinage took place during that period and as many as 10,000 different varieties of coins were issued. The reason for these varieties is known to modern scholars, because the varieties were created by the signatures on the coins of the issuing rulers, mints (c. 90 were active during the period) and moneyers (an average of 15 per mint were at work) and by different arrangements of the inscriptions and king's authorising mark (normally his stylised portrait). These 10,000 varieties and 40 phases are of a similar order to those 500 odd marks and 6 phases discerned by Gupta in the punch-marked coinage. On the expectation of the "historico-numismatic" method would anyone be so willing to disregard the known facts to suggest that perhaps this English coinage was issued by 100 or more rulers over a period of six thousand or more years. It would surely be more "scientific" to suggest that on the basis of 121 years of English coinage representing 8 rulers, 40 coinage phases and 10,000 coin varieties that the Indian phase of national punch-marked coins lasted 18 years (1 phase every 3 years) or 6 years (83 varieties every year) and just one reign (15 years per ruler). Even though more "scientific" such a method of determining the chronology of these coins is equally unsatisfactory, as the Indian archaeological record already shows. The only lesson is that such methodology is not reliable. Until the significance of the individual punch-marks is determined, it cannot be ruled out that the varieties represent very broad horizontal administrative bands across a short vertical temporal axis. There can be no doubt that many coinages have been produced throughout world history over very short periods which contain as many observable varieties as the national five punch-marked coinage.

The chronological assertions based on the geographieal distribution of the early local punch-marked coinages rest on an equally unreliable base. The assumption is that as Magadha drew the neighbouring states into its Empire the national coinage was introduced to replace a pre-existing local coinage. As I have demonstrated above there is no evidence at all that, while they were carrying out this process, Ajātaśatru and his successors were issuing coins. Furthermore present day knowledge of the administrative organisation of the Magadhan Empire does not provide any information on the regional administration of currency. An equally plausible hypothesis could be that the Magadhan Emperors allowed their provincial administrators complete freedom in currency matters and coinage issue and that the local coins were issued as a result of this licence. Therefore the evidence is not available for making any chronological conclusions about the local punch-marked coinages on the basis of such a methodology.

The "historico-numismatic" method as so for used in spite of the overwhelming breadth of its approaeh to the material is built on a series of unsubstantiated assumptions which neither individually nor combined provide any solution to the problems of the chronology of the punch-marked coins that was not already available.

Conclusions on Methodology

My brief survey has now I believe touched on all the methods which have been used in attempts to establish the chronology of the silver punch-marked coins—India's earliest coins. The irrelevance or abuse of these methods which I have demonstrated explains how scholars still claim such widely differing dates for the origin of coinage in India. Archaeologists such as Ray[1] would like to see c. 500 BC as the earliest date for Indian coins, scholars of literature such as Shastri[2] appear to find reference to coins in texts dated c. 1000 BC and numismatists such as P. L. Gupta[3] can claim that coinage first appeared in the early 7th century or even 8th BC.

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[1] Ray S. C., *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[2] Shastri A. M., in Seminar Papers on *Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins*, (Ed. Narain), 1966, p. 116.

[3] Gupta P. L., in Seminar Papers on *Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins*, (Ed. Narain), p. 4.

It is obviously important for the achievement of a correct understanding of ancient India's history that an answer be found to the question when coinage began. Archaeologists have little of the evidence for dating which is available to their European colleagues from a precisely dated coinage. If the references to monetary practice in literary texts could be dated by external evidence of this nature a clearer chronology for the literature would also be available. One could find many other points of clarifications for the history of Ancient India if this one question was resolved. It is therefore important to remember that a solution to the problem of the chronology of the punch-marked coins can be achieved. Coins by their very nature are datable objects. The integrity of information contained in coinage properly interpreted cannot be damaged in the same way that textual corruption impairs literary sources or disturbance of strata destroys archaeological evidence. It is an important responsibility for the students of Indian numismatics to rigorously extract this information and make it available to their colleagues in the other fields of historical research. Much of the hard work of gathering together the data, from which the answer will be derived, has already been done, but the use of unsound theoretical methods or the misuse of sound ones must not be allowed to distort the picture already created by the data so far collected. I will conclude now by highlighting a few patterns which this data seems to be laying down as the framework from which the answer to the question of the origins of India's coinage will emerge.

Application of Methodology

It has been established beyond doubt that the earliest phase of coinage in India consisted of the various series of local silver punch-marked coins which mostly precede the national 5 punch-marked silver coins. The 5 punch-marked coinage is the product of an evolution in coin making technology which is discernible in the local coinages which precede it. P. L. Gupta[1] has pointed to the various stages through which this evolution passed. In brief the coins stamped with 5 punch-marks were preceded in the process of development by the following :—coins stamped with (a) 4 different punches, (b) 3 different punches, one of which was stamped twice, (d) 2 different punches or a single punch. These four stages are observed in the various coinages which have been found in hoards from the Gangetic area (at Mamdar, Babhua, Paila, Madhuri, Ramnagar etc.).[1] The earliest phases are distinguished by being struck either on elliptic shaped flans with the more prominent or only stamps at each end of the ellipse or on round cup shaped flans with a single stamp in the centre. They are also differentiated from later coins by the use of less pictorial stamps, a heavier weight standard and their being struck in several denominations. The earliest phase (d) above demonstrates the most marked differentiation in all these features.

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[1] Gupta P. L., *Coins*, p. 10-16.

It can be concluded on this basis that all the features of the punch-marked coins in the Gangetic region were developed from these coins of the earliest phase. (It is important to keep in mind that the development from this origin took place at a so far undetermined pace in different areas and that the fabric and punch designs of some 4 punch coins probably places them as contemporary with the 5 punch series, as hoard evidence also suggests). Two other areas in India also have local punch-marked coins which show the features of the earliest phase found in the Gangetic area. One area is indicated by the find of a hoard of heavy standard round cup shaped coins of three denominations with single non pictorial punches at Vai near Bombay,[2] suggesting the circulation of coins of this type there. The other area is the North West of the sub-continent, particularly in the area of Gandhāra,[3] where a large number of finds have been made of another local series. This series also includes heavy standard coins of at least four denominations with one or two non pictorial punches struck on cup shaped round or elliptic flans or bent bars.

The Gandhāran coins in fact show all the features of the earliest phase of coinage in the Gangetic area. In the same way it can be said that all the Gangetic punch-marked coins can be traced back as developments of the earliest phase found there, so it can also be suggested that the features of all the Gangetic coins could have derived from the Gandhāran coins. The reverse could also be suggested, but it will be shown this suggestion does not concur with the evidence. (The Vai hoard coins lack one feature which both Gandhāran and Gangetic coins possess

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[1] Mitchiner M., *op. cit.*, refers extensively to finds of such coins.

[2] Allan J., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[3] *Ibid.*

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i. e. the use of more than one punch and therefore they appear to be derivatives of one of the other series).

Why must the influence be from the Gandhāran to Gangetic area and not the other way? It is because the Gandhāran coins can themselves be shown to have been derived from another form of currency, known from the Chaman Huzuri hoard to have been used in that area, whereas in the Gangetic area no silver currency pre-dating the earliest phase of coinage is known. The Chaman Huzuri hoard contained a group of the examples of the Gandhāran local punch-marked coinage series alongside a group of Greek and Persian coins and a separate group of locally made imitations of Greek coins. The Gandhāran coins in this hoard are all short broad bent bars or cupped and elliptic in shape. The Taxilā hoard which was deposited later than 323 BC also contained examples of the bar shaped local Gandhāran coins, but most were narrower and it can be presumed that the bars developed from the broad to the narrower shape during the period separating the deposit of these hoards. Nor were any elliptic cup shaped examples present in the Taxilā hoard. The examples in the Chaman Huzuri hoard suggest that the Gandhāran local punch-marked coins were originally of the broader or elliptic shape. The bending or cupping of these flans represents the same effect on different shaped coins in this hoard. The locally made imitations of Greek coins in the Chaman Huzuri hoard were mostly made by the same process as the local Gandhāran punch-marked coins. A few of the larger pieces have designs in both sides, but most of them are made by the application of one or more punches mostly with non-pictorial designs to round or roughly elliptic cup shaped flans. The smaller pieces so closely resemble the lower denomination Gandhāran and Gangetic local punch-marked coins, that, taken out of context, they could not be distinguished. However it is clear from their context in the hoard that their makers intended them to be copies of Greek coins such as the pieces already in the hoard. As evidence of this it can be shown that most of these pieces were struck as units, halves or quarters of Greek or Persian coinage standards.

The Chaman Huzuri hoard demonstrates that the makers of the local Gandhāran punch-marked coins had available to them prototypes on which to model their issues. The weight standard used by the Gandhāran coiners was also derived from the local copies of Greek coins. The standard adopted for the Gandhāran coins and for more than half of the copies was the Persian shekel of c. 12 grammes. A recent find[1] has also shown that the use of unstamped bar shaped silver ingots was also peculiar to the Persian sphere of Central Asia. Dhavalikar[2] has already suggested that the bent-bar coins are derived from this Iranian monetary practice. Allan[3] also pointed out that the bent bars were struck on the Iranian standard, as double the weight of the silver coins struck by the Persian Empire. Furthermore the discovery of contemporary forgeries of Gandhāran local coins at Kauśkmbī[4] provides confirmation that these coins were available as prototypes in the Ganges area.

It is clear on this basis that the Gangetic local coinage could be derived from the Gandhāran local coinage, but it is not necessary for the reverse to be postulated. The series of interrelationships which I have drawn together here are based on the evidence of the development of the technology of the punch-marked coins. It is possible to use this evidence to demonstrate a family tree of these coins which points to the Gandhāran local coins as the founder of the line and to indicate the founder's parentage in a marriage between Greek coinage and Iranian bar currency. Does this lead to any conclusions about the date at which coinage was first made in the South Asian sub-continent? The Chaman Huzuri hoard now gives some indication of the date of this event. The punch-marked coins in it are the earlier known varieties of what it has been suggested above could be the progenitor of all other punch-marked coins. The Greek coins in the hoard show that it could not have been deposited before the 390s BC, and was probably deposited later than 460 BC. The proportion of punch-marked coins in the hoard show that they were probably current alongside the Greek and local imitation coins at the time of the deposit of the hoard. Bivar and Curiel and Schlumberger[5] have already shown that Greek coins circulated as currency by weight in this area while it was under Iranian (Achaemenid) rule from the mid 6th century BC until the conquest of Alexander the Great (c. 331 BC). The evidence of this hoard therefore shows that the punch-marked coinage of India originated by the mid 4th century. The contents of the hoard do not give any indication of how long before this date the event took place. Gupta[1] has suggested that, because some of the Greek and Persian coins in the hoard might be 6th century issues, so are the Gandhāran coins, but neither his attributions of the Greek and Persian coins, nor his disregard of the *terminus post quem* of the hoard are convincing. The only evidence of chronology we can derive from the hoard is that which was already available to Quintus Curtius in the 1st century AD Rome i. e. that the Indians already had punch-marked silver coins when Alexander the Great arrived in the their territory.

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[1] Bivar A. D. H., A Hoard of Ingot Currency of the Median Period from Nush-I-Jan new Malayir, *Iran*, London 1971, Vol. 9, pp. 97-111.

[2] Dhavalikar M. K., The Beginning of Coinage in India in *World Archaeology*, London, 1975, Vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 330-338.

[3] Allan J., *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[4] Mukherjee D., *JNSI*, XLI, pt. 1, pp. 1-8.

[5] Bivar A. D. H., in *NC*, NS., XV, pp. 163-172, Curiel R. and Schlumberger D., *op. cit*.

As a footnote to this conclusion I would like to return briefly to the use of literary evidence with which I began my discussion. There is a tradition, borne out by evidence in his text, that the Grammarian Pāṇini composed his Ashṭādhyāyī in the Gandhāra area, and modern scholars[2] have shown that this was during the period of Persian rule over that area. Whether he wrote before or after the introduction of coinage, his description of the use of gold and silver as money in units by weight does not conflict with the evidence of currency in Gandhāra derived from other sources. The traditional linking of material in the Arthaśāstra with the period of Chandragupta Maurya can also be aligned with the numismatic evidence. If the references to silver coins in the text are of that period, then the description of such coinage in four denominations could only be matched with the earliest issues in the Gangetic local series. Both the evidence of the Chaman Huzuri hoard for the date of the Gandhāran local coins and the finding of imitations of local Gandhārn coins in the Mauryan

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1. Gupta P. L , in Seminar Papers on *Chronology of the Punch-Marked Coins* (Ed. Narain), p. 3-4.
2. Scharfe H., Grammatical Literature *A History of Indian Literature* (Ed. J. Gender) Wiesbaden, Vol. V, Part 2, 1977, p. 88, Pāṇini's "... home was the town of Salatura in ancient Gandhāra". This traditional story about Pāṇini is supported by Linguistic and topographical evidence in the text of the Ashṭādhāyāyī.

level at Kauśāmbī, as dated by its association with the Aśokan Pillar,[1] also suggest a late 4th century BC date for the earliest Gangetic local coins struck in four denominations. Dhavalikar[2] has pointed out that it is "surprising that a fully fledged silver coinage was introduced suddenly into India", whereas all the ancient religious texts only refer to the monetary use of gold. How easy it is to explain this surprising fact when it can now be shown how the whole concept of the monetary use of silver could have been introduced from outside of the sub-continent. How easily could one now say with John Allan[3] that "the idea of a coinage came to India in the...fourth century BC from Achaemenid territory, being suggested by the *sigloi* (i.e, Graeco-Persian coins)".

I would like to express my gratitude to the following for their assistance, in the preparation of this survey. My colleagues Marion Archibald, Nicholas Lowick, and Martin Price, Jerry Losty of the British Library, Raymond Allchin of Cambridge University and Terry Hardaker of Oxford. My thanks are also due to Savita Sharma for delivering this paper (in my absence) to this conference and to T. P. Verma and the Numismatic Society of India for inviting me to present it.

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[1] Mukherjee D., *op. cit.*, The bent-bars from this excavation were all silver plated contemporary forgeries (most have lost the silver plating) of the early form; i. e. short broad bent bars or cupped and elliptic in shape like the examples in the Chaman Huzuri hoard.

[2] Dhavalikar M. K., *op. cit*, p. 332.

[3] Allan J., *op. cit.*, p. 121.

प्रचीन उत्तर-भारतीय स्थानीय शासन के परिप्रेक्ष्य में निगम सिक्के

नरसिंह नारायण सिंह

प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहास की संरचना में निःसन्देह मुद्राओं से उपादेय तत्वों की उपलब्धि होती हैं। सिक्के यों तो इतिहास के लिए समर्थन का ही कार्य करते हैं, किन्तु साक्ष्यों के अभाव में मूल इतिहास को भी प्रस्तुत करते हैं। अतः सिक्के हमारे समक्ष समर्थक एवं प्रतिपादक दो रूपों में आते हैं। सिक्कों के मुद्रण के बारे में विद्वानों में मतभेद है। भंडारकर, डी० सी० सरकार आदि विद्वान मुद्रा के मुद्रण पर राज्य का अधिकार नहीं मानते हैं। स्मिथ, जे० एन० बनर्जी, कनिंघम, उपेन्द्र ठाकुर, पी० एल० गुप्ता आदि मुद्रा मुद्रण पर राज्य का पूरा अधिकार स्वीकार करते हैं। प्राचीन उत्तर भारत में अधिकांश सिक्के राज्यों द्वारा ही मुद्रित हुए। कभी-कभी व्यापारियों, श्रेणियों एवं निगमों के द्वारा भी सिक्के जारी किये गये। निगम सिक्के काफी संख्या में पंजाब, तक्षशिला, कौशांबी, वैशाली, इलाहाबाद, विदिशा, महिष्मती आदि स्थानों से प्राप्त हुए हैं।

प्राचीन भारतीय साहित्य में श्रेणी के लिए अनेक शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है जिसमें 'निगम' शब्द भी है। वैदिक ग्रंथों में श्रेणि और गण जैसे शब्दों का उल्लेख हैं, जो क्रमशः श्रेणी के मुखिया और निगम संगठन की ओर इंगित करता है। एक ही आजीविका वाले लोग प्रायः अपने हितों के लिए निश्चित नियमों वाले 'निगम' का संगठन कर लेते थे। व्यापारियों तथा शिल्पियों के निगम राज्य के एक आवश्यक अंग मान लिये गये और उन्हें अपने नियम बनाने का महत्वपूर्ण अधिकार प्रदान किया गया था। उसका नेता जो संभवतः जातकों के जेट्ठक के समान था एक मुख्य व्यक्ति माना गया, जो राज दरबार में अपने वर्ग का प्रतिनिधित्व करता था।[1]

तक्षशिला से प्राप्त तीसरी सदी ई० पू० की मुद्राओं पर 'नेगम' अंकित है। मुद्राओं के अतिरिक्त 'निगम' मुहरों का भी प्रचलन था। वैशाली (वसाढ़) से प्राप्त मुहरें उनकी नैगम व्यवस्था का परिचय देती हैं। नेगम शब्द संस्कृत भाषा के नेगमाः से लिया गया है। नेगम का अर्थ वास्तव में नगर राज्य होता है। नेगम उन नगर-राज्यों को कहा जाता था जिसमें व्यापारी निवास करते थे।

'नेगम' या निगम' सिक्कों के बारे में काशी प्रसाद जायसवाल का कहना है कि ये सिक्के राजाओं द्वारा नगर व्यापारियों के सम्बन्ध को प्रकट करने के लिए जारी किये गये। इस सन्दर्भ में के० डी० वाजपेयी का विचार है कि नेगम सिक्के व्यापारिक संघों द्वारा मुद्रित हुए। उनका मत है कि नेगम का अर्थ नगर-राज्य होता है जिसमें व्यापारी निवास करते थे। संभव है कि इन नगर-राज्यों के प्रधान ने इन सिक्कों को टंकित किया होगा।[2]

तक्षशिला से प्राप्त निगम सिक्कों पर मुख्य रूप से दो लेख मिलता है—पन्चनेकमे तथा हिरन्यसमे। पन्चनेकमे को के० डी० वाजपेयी **पंचनेगमे** और हिरन्यसमे को **'हिरण्य स्वामी'** माना है। ह्वीलर हिदुजसमे पाठ मानते हैं[3]। दूसरा लेख इन सिक्कों पर दोजक-अटकटक, रलिमस, कडार आदि पाया जाता है।[4] पंचनेगम मुद्रा

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[1] —प्राचीन भारत में संघटित जीवन, पृ० २४-२५।

[2] —जे० एन० यस० आई०, २५ भाग १, पृ० १७-२१।

[3] —एलन, कैटलाग आफ इण्डियन क्वाइन ऑव एन्शियन्ट इण्डिया, पृ० १३१-३२।

[4] —एलन, कैटलाग आफ इण्डियन क्वाइन ऑव एन्शियन्ट इण्डिया, पृ० २१४-१९ फलक ३१ और ३४।

सम्भवतया पाँच नेगमों द्वारा जारी हुआ, और दोजक, अटकटक, रलिमस, कडार आदि स्थान के नाम रहे होंगे पर आज तक इसका स्पष्ट समीकरण नहीं हो पाया है। ये शब्द उन व्यापारियों और स्थानीय लोगों की ओर संकेत करते हैं, जिन्होंने इनको जारी किया था। ये निश्चित ही सिक्के थे क्योंकि इनकी शैली को भारतीय यवन राजा अगाथॉक्लीज ने अपनाया था।

कौशांबी से गंधिक निगम के सिक्के प्राप्त हुए हैं। इन सिक्कों पर प्राप्त लेख को आर० आर० त्रिपाठी ने गंधिकानम[१] और के० डी० पाजपेयी ने गंधिकनं पढ़ा है।[२] त्रिपाठी यह सोचते हैं कि गधिकन या गधिकान् पाठ्य गंधिकानाम या गंधि जाति के परिप्रेक्ष्य में लिया गया है। त्रिपाठी इस सिक्के को पुनः गाधिन या गाधि (जो कि विश्वमित्र के पिता थे) के साथ जोड़ने का प्रयास करते हैं। त्रिपाठी के अनुसार ये सिक्के गाधि जाति के द्वारा जारी किये गये जो कौशांबी एवं कन्नौज क्षेत्र में तीसरी एवं दूसरी शताब्दी ई० पू० में अस्थायी रूप से शासन कर रहे थे। किन्तु वाजपेयी ने बतलाया है कि गाधि सिक्के कन्नौज से नहीं प्राप्त हुये हैं।[३] इसके अतिरिक्त संस्कृत साहित्य में कहीं भी विश्वामित्र वंशज के लिए गाधि नाम का प्रयोग नहीं हुआ है। इस नाम की जाति का ज्ञान किसी अन्य विश्वसनीय प्रमाण या अभिलेख से नहीं होता।

सम्भवतः ये सिक्के गन्धिकों के निगम के द्वारा जारी किये गये होंगे, जो कि इत्र के व्यपारी थे और कौशांबी में रहते थे।[४] कौशांबी से गन्धिक निगम के अतिरिक्त अन्य निगम के भी सिक्के प्राप्त हैं। इन सिक्कों पर कुछ शहरों के नाम भी प्राप्त हैं, यथा—कौशांबी, त्रिपुरी, विदिशा, एरण, महिष्मती, मध्यमिका इत्यादि। शहरों और निगम के नाम से युक्त ये सिक्के व्यापारियों के समूह और महत्वपूर्ण शहरी निगमों के द्वारा जारी किये गये। इन सिक्कों को नगर निगम या नेगम सिक्के कहा जाता है। ये सिक्के निम्नलिखित प्रभुत्वों के द्वारा जारी किये गये—राजतंत्रीय राज्य, गणतंत्रीय राज्य, शहरी निगम एवं श्रेणी।[५]

भारतवर्ष में जनपद, निगम तथा गणतंत्रीय सिक्कों का भौगोलिक एवं ऐतिहासिक दोनों दृष्टियों से अधिक विस्तार है। इन सिक्कों का प्रचलन २०० ई० पू० से ३५० ई० तक लगभग ५५० वर्षों तक था। कुछ समय पहले ये सिक्के उत्तरी भारत में ट्राइबल क्वाइन्स के नाम से जाने जाते थे, और उन्हें अधिक महत्व नहीं दिया जाता था। अब निःसन्देह यह सिद्ध हो गया है कि उत्तर-पश्चिमी, उत्तरी तथा मध्य भारत के ५५० वर्षों के इतिहास के लिए इसका अध्ययन आवश्यक है।[६]

साहित्यिक एवं अभिलेखीय साक्ष्यों के द्वारा भी निगमों के बारे में सूचना मिलती है। कौटलीय अर्थशास्त्र[७] से ज्ञात होता है कि उस काल में लेखाध्यक्ष को नियमित रूप से निर्धारित रजिस्टरों में निगमों की प्रथाओं का इतिहास एवं लेन-देन संबंधी बातों को लिखना पड़ता था। नगर योजना में श्रेणियों और श्रमिको[८] के लिए स्थान सुरक्षित होते थे, और उनके द्वारा दिये गये करों की गणना राज्य की आय के सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण

१—जे० एन० यस० आई० २७, पृ० ८४-८५।

२—उपर्युक्त पृ० ८५।

३—इण्डियन न्यूमिसमेटिक स्टडीज, अध्याय १०, पृ० ५३।

४—उपर्युक्त पृ० ५३।

५—उपर्युक्त पृ० १०-११।

६—उपर्युक्त पृ० १-१६७।

७—शाम शास्त्री, अर्थ, पृ० ६९।

८—अर्थशास्त्र, शामशास्त्री का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद, पृ० ६१।

साधनों में की जाती थी ।[1] याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति में निर्देश है कि कोई पुरुष किसी श्रेणी या अन्य किसी निगम की सम्पत्ति चुराये या उनसे हुए अनुबन्ध को तोड़े तो उसे देश से निष्कासित किया जाय तथा उसकी सभी सम्पत्ति को छीन लिया जाय ।[2] अतः यह संगठन देश की राजनीति में एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग के रूप में विकसित हो गया । श्रेणियां नगर-निगम के प्रति उत्तरदायी थीं । श्रेणी, नेगम, सम्पत्ति भी रख सकती थी[3] और वे वर्तमान युग की संस्थाओं की धाराओं के अनुरूप नियम, विनियम बना सकती थी, जिसका उलंधन राजद्रोह माना जाता था । निगम की प्रथाओं और नियमों का अत्यधिक महत्व था तथा राजा उसकी अवमानना नहीं करता था । नारद स्मृति[4] में कहा गया है कि—

"राजा को चाहिए कि वह श्रेणियों तथा अन्य निगमों की प्रथाओं को मान्यता दे, उनके जो भी कानून, (धार्मिक) कर्तव्य, उपस्थिति के नियम और जीवन निर्वाह की विशेष परिपाटी हो उन सबको राजा स्वीकार करे ।"

वेदोत्तर काल में 'पूग' और 'गण' आदि पारिभाषिक शब्दों का प्रयोग सम्भवतया नगरों और ग्रामों के स्थानीय निगमों के लिए किया जाता था । वीर मित्रोदय में 'गण' तथा 'पूग' शब्दों की व्याख्या क्रमशः गण शब्दः पूगपर्यायः 'तथा' पूगः समूहः भिन्न जातीनाम् भिन्नवृत्तीनाम्, एकस्थानवासिनाम् ग्रामनगरादिस्थानाम्' कहकर की गयी है ।[5] विज्ञानेश्वर ने भी गण शब्द की व्याख्या इस प्रकार की है : 'ग्रामादिजनसमूह' ।[6] रमेशचन्द्र मजूमदार का मत है कि साधारणतया इन दोनों शब्दों का प्रयोग केवल संघटनों के लिए किया जाता था । किन्तु टीकाकार उन्हें ग्राम अथवा नगर के अर्थ में लेते हैं, जिससे स्पष्ट है कि कभी-कभी ये शब्द विशिष्ट प्रकार के निगमों के लिए प्रयुक्त होते थे । विनयपिटक[7] में प्रयुक्त पूग शब्द का आशय नगर अथवा ग्राम के संघटन से प्रतीत होता है । कभी-कभी एक नगर में कई निगमों के होने का प्रमाण मिलता है ।[8] उपर्वर्णित उत्तर कालीन टीकाकार ने पूग को स्पष्ट रूप से नगर अथवा ग्राम के अर्थ में लिया है ।[9] धर्मसूत्रों और धर्मशास्त्रों में 'गण' और 'पूग' के उल्लेख प्रायः मिलते हैं ।[10] मजूमदार का मत है कि ये दोनों शब्द सम्भवतः नगर अथवा ग्राम निगम के वाचक थे ।

अभिलेखीय साक्ष्य से भी निगम के बारे में महत्वपूर्ण प्रकाश पड़ता है वसाढ़ (प्राचीन वैशाली) से प्राप्त मिट्टी की मुहरों से इस काल के श्रेणि संगठनों पर और भी प्रकाश पड़ता है । उसमें से कई पर ये लेख

१—उपर्युक्त पृ० ६४ ।

२—याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, १।१८७-१९२ ।

३—प्राचीन भारत में संघटित जीवन, पृ० ३७ ।

४—नारद स्मृति, १०।२।३ ।

५—प्राचीन भारत में संघटित जीवन, पृ० १३१ ।

६—याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, २।१७८ पर विज्ञानेश्वर की टीका ;

७—विनय पिटक—चुल्लवग्ग, ५।५।२, ४।८।१ ।

८—विनय पिटक ४।३० के आधार पर रमेशचन्द्र मजूमदार की टिप्पणी ।

९—प्राचीन भारत में संगठित जीवन, पृ० १३२ ।

१०—गौतम—१५, १६, १८; १७, १७; आपस्तम्ब १, १८, १७; वशिष्ठ धर्मसूत्र १४ १०; विष्णुसंहिता ५०, १-७; ८२, १३, मनु०, ३, १५१, १५४, १६४; ४, २०९; २१९; याज्ञवल्क्य १, १६१, ३६१, २, ३१, १९०-१९५, २१४, नारद प्रस्तावना ७, वृहस्पति १,२८-३० ।

मिलते हैं[1]—

(१) श्रेष्ठि-सार्थवाह-कुलिक-निगम

(२) श्रेष्ठि कुलिक-निगम

(३) श्रेष्ठि निगम

(४) कुलिक निगम ।

इन अभिलेखों के महत्वपूर्ण शब्द निगम की व्याख्या विद्वानों ने प्रायः श्रेष्ठि या समुदाय के अर्थ में की है। डी० आर० भण्डारकर के अनुसार इस अर्थ के लिए कोई आधार नहीं है। उनका कहना है कि इस शब्द का साधारण अभिप्राय नगर है।[2] इस मत की पुष्टि रमेशचन्द्र मजूमदार ने भी की है। ऊपर जिन मुद्राओं का वर्णन किया गया है, उनसे यह ज्ञात होता है कि ये मुद्राये उन श्रेणियों की मुद्रायें थीं जो किसी नगर की शासन संचालिका के रूप में मान्य थी। विद्वानों ने 'निगम' शब्द को श्रेणी के अर्थ में स्वीकार किया है। त्रे वसाढ़ के मुद्राभिलेखों की दूसरी व्याख्या प्रस्तुत करते हैं। इस मत के सबसे बड़े समर्थक डा० ब्लाख हैं।

इलाहाबाद के निकट भीटा से प्राप्त एक मृण्मुद्रा पर ई० पू० के तृतीय अथवा चतुर्थ शताब्दी के अक्षरों में 'सहिजितिये निगमस' लेख उत्कीर्ण है। यह सरजानमार्शल को एक मौर्य काल के भवन से प्राप्त हुई थी। मार्शल के अनुसार यहाँ सहिजित के नगर निगम का कार्यालय था।[3] ई० पू० तृतीय सदी के लगभग भट्टिप्रोलु से प्राप्त एक पात्र पर नेगम शब्द उत्कीर्ण मिलता है।[4] ब्यूलर ने इस अभिलेख के नेगम शब्द को श्रेणी के सदस्यों के अर्थ में लिया है। किन्तु निगम शब्द वस्तुतः नगर के अर्थ में लिया जाना चाहिए। भण्डारकर का मत है कि नेगम संभवतः संस्कृत नेगमाः (नागरिकों की एक प्रकार की सामुदायिक संस्था जिसका उल्लेख याज्ञवल्क्य और नारद स्मृतियों में दृष्टिगत होता है) के लिए इष्ट है। उषवदात के नासिक अभिलेख में एक निगम सभा अथवा नगर परिषद का उल्लेख है; अमरावती स्तूप के एक लेख[5] में धनकटक निगम के दान की चर्चा है। भीटा से प्राप्त पकी मिट्टी की चार मुद्राओं पर कुषाण कालीन लिपि में निगमस शब्द उत्कीर्ण है। पाँचवीं मुद्रा पर 'निगमस्य' शब्द पाया जाता है। इससे ई० सन् की प्रथम चार-पाँच शताब्दियों में नगर निगम का अस्तित्व सिद्ध होता है। ग्वालियर के वैल्लभट्ट स्वामी मंदिर के विक्रम संवत् ९९३ के अभिलेख में एक नगर निगम की प्रामाणिक साक्षी सुरक्षित है जिसके कारबार को चलाने के लिए उसका अपना संगठन था, निगम की अपनी भू सम्पत्ति थी और वह सम्पूर्ण नगर के नाम से दान दे सकता था।

निगम या नेगम सिक्के प्रजातंत्रात्मक विधि के द्योतक हैं। 'जनपद' बड़े क्षेत्र में स्थापित प्रजातंत्र था और 'निगम' छोटे क्षेत्र में स्थापित प्रजातंत्र। निगम सिक्कों से यह स्पष्ट है कि प्राचीन भारत में नगर राज्य थे, जिनकी शासन पद्धति प्रजातांत्रिक थी। रमेशचन्द्र मजूमदार ने यह मत व्यक्त किया है कि व्यापारियों और शिल्पियों के विभिन्न निगमों के निर्देशन में न्यायालय भी होते थे; ग्राम निगमों के विस्तृत विवरण नहीं प्राप्त हैं। ग्रामवासी अपने ग्राम के कार्यभार का प्रबन्ध स्वयं करते थे और न्यायिक कार्य, जिसका स्पष्ट उल्लेख है,

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१—अर्कियालॉजिकल सर्वे ऑव इण्डिया वार्षिक रिपोर्ट १९०३-४ पृ० १०७ और १९११-१२, पृ० ५६, १९१३-१५, पृ० १३८।

२—कर्माइकेल लेक्चर, १९१८, पृ० १७० एवं आगे।

३—अर्कियालॉजिकल सर्वे ऑव इण्डिया वर्षिक रिपोर्ट १९११-१२, पृ० ३१।

४—एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका जिल्द २, पृ० ३२८।

५—एपिग्राफिया इण्डिका जिल्द १५, पृ० २६३।

इसी कार्य के अंग थे। निगम का सर्वोच्च अधिकारी उसका अध्यक्ष था। निगम के सामानान्तर ग्रामों के अध्यक्ष थे। अभिलेखों में ग्रामाधिप, ग्रामणी, ग्रामकूट, ग्रामपति तथा पट्टकिल इत्यादि विभिन्न नामों से और जातकों में ग्रामभोजक नाम से संबोधित किया गया है।[१] कभी-कभी यह राजा द्वारा मनोनीत किया जाता था। किन्तु अनेक दृष्टान्तों से ज्ञात है कि प्रायः यह पद अनुवांशिक था। दो, तीन या पाँच व्यक्तियों की परिषद् अध्यक्ष की सहायता करती थी। ग्रामणी एवं परिषद् को यद्यपि बहुत अधिकार प्राप्त थे परन्तु अन्तिम रूप से वह जनता के प्रति उत्तरदायी होता था।

मेगस्थनीज़ के विवरण से नगर निगमों की कार्य प्रणाली पर अत्यन्त मनोरंजक पार्श्व प्रकाश पड़ता है। पाटलिपुत्र के शासन का उसका सुप्रसिद्ध विवरण अन्य स्थानीय निकायों पर भी लागू माना जा सकता है।[२] इस विवरण का निष्कर्ष यह है कि एक साधारण सभा तथा उसकी अनेक छोटी-छोटी समितियाँ जिनमें से प्रत्येक को एक विशिष्ट विभाग सौंपा गया था, नगर के स्वायत्त शासन का प्रबन्ध करती थीं। भट्टिप्रोलुकरण्ड लेख,[३] जिसमें नगर वासियों की एक समिति या गोष्ठी का उल्लेख है, से मेगस्थनीज़ के विवरण का समर्थन होता है। ग्राम संगठन अत्यन्त विकसित था और वे देश के शासन तंत्र के अभिन्न अंग माने जाते थे। गाँव के सम्पूर्ण प्रबन्ध का कार्य उनके हाथों में था। निगमों में इसके समानान्तर व्यवस्था रही होगी। निगम के निर्णय के विरूद्ध उच्चतर न्यायालय में अपील की जा सकती थी। जिसकी पुष्टि याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति[४] से होती है। कुल श्रेणी और गण तीन प्रमुख स्थानीय न्यायालयों में श्रेणी न्यायालय दूसरे क्रम पर था। नारद स्मृति[५] में वर्णन है कि श्रेणियाँ न्यायालय के रूप में अनेक सदस्यों पर नियंत्रण रखती थी और श्रेणी का चार सामान्य न्यायालयों में दूसरा स्थान था। ये न्यायालय राजा द्वारा शक्ति प्रदत्त थे तथा इनके द्वारा दिये गये निर्णय का कार्यान्वियन राजा करता था। कनिष्ठ न्यायालय की अपील उच्च न्यायालय में की जा सकती थी। यह क्रम क्रमशः ग्राम सभा से राजसभा तक चलता था।[६] निगमों के प्रतिनिधि केन्द्रीय प्रशासन में भी भाग लेते थे।[७] निगम राज्य के अधीन रहकर अपने आंतरिक मामलों में स्वतंत्र थे। इसका कारण आर्थिक रूप से उनका सुदृढ़ होना, राष्ट्र की अर्थ व्यवस्था का मेरुदण्ड होना तथा राज्य के सप्तांगों के महत्वपूर्ण अंग कोष की धुरी होना था। इन दिनों भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था में व्पापार का महत्व सर्वाधिक था। राज्य अपने आर्थिक स्वार्थ के कारण ही निगमों को प्रायः समाज के अन्य वर्गों तथा संस्थाओं की तुलना में प्राथमिकता देता था।

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[१] प्राचीन भारत में संघटित जीवन, पृ० १४८।

[२] उपर्युक्त, पृ० १४८-४९।

[३] एपीग्राफिया इण्डिका जिल्द २, पृ० ३२८।

[४] याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति, १४।६।६।

[५] नारद स्मृति, १।७।

[६] स्मृति चंद्रिका २, पृ० १९, वृहस्पति उद्धृत व्यवहार प्रकाश, पृ० ३०।

[७] रामायण ७, ५९, १; ७, ५३, ५-८।

NOTE ON A COIN OF DAMABHADRA FROM PAUNI

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI and CHANDRASHEKHAR S. GUPTA

Nearly thirty-eight years back V. V. Mirashi published a coin from Pauni (Bhandara district, Maharashtra) and attributed it to a chief whom he called Dimabhāga on the basis of his reading of the legend. The coin is, according to the details supplied by him, of bronze, square in shape with each side measuring .6″, and weighs 40.5 grains. His description of the coin may be summarised as follows :—

Obverse : Legend in relief placed diagonally with the Sun symbol in a circle above and the figure of a humped bull together with a taurine symbol in front below.

Reverse : A taurine symbol and a couple of rectangular figures one below the other.

Mirashi took the characters of the legend to be attributable to the Mauryan Brāhmī and accordingly proposed to date the coin about the close of the third century BC. He read the legend as....*ño Dimabha* and proposed to restore it as *Dimabhāgasa* and, therefore, attributed the coin to a chief named Dimabhāga.[1]

Being the earliest known inscribed coin datable to the post-Maurya pre-Sātavāhana period from the Deccan and consequently of great numismatic significance, this coin has been noticed by various scholars like B. C. Jain,[2] Moreshwar G. Dikshit[3] and V. P. Rode.[4]

Recently, Mirashi has proposed to correct his reading of the legend on this coin in the light of two coins of a certain Sachabhada (Satyabhadra) from Bhandara published by one of us (AMS).[5] He observes that like these coins the coin published by him also was square in shape, and in view of the legends on the coins of Sachabhada, the *akshara* following *bha* on his coin may have been *da* instead of *a* earlier suggested by him and that the name of the chief responsible for issuing it may have been something like Damabhadra or Dimabhadra.[1]

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[1] V. V. Mirashi, "A Coin of King Dimabhāga", *JNSI*, VI, pp. 9-10, Pl. II B, 9.

[2] *Inventory of the Hoards and Finds of Coins and Seals from Madhya Pradesh*, NNM, No. 5, p. 6, no. 9; "Madhya Pradeśa kā Itihāsa aura Purātattva", *Ravi Śaṅkara Sukla Abhinandana Grantha*, Itihāsa Khaṇḍa, p. 13, where the coin is spoken of as of lead, which is obviously due to oversight.

[3] *Madya Pradeśa ke Purātattva kī Rūparekhā*, p. 45.

[4] "Coin Collection in the Central Museum, Nagpur", *Śatābdakaumudī*, p. 146.

[5] *ABORI*, Diamond Jubilee Volume, pp. 263-67.

It is rather surprising that from the legend on Sachabhadra's coins Mirashi came to the conclusion that the name of the issuer of his coin in question was Damabhadra or Dimabhadra. Even if the letter next to *bha* were to be taken as *da* instead of *a* as read by him earlier, the name could be restored only as Dimabhada or Dimabhadra, and not as Damabhadra; for, as will be seen from the eye-copy given by Mirashi,[2] the medial sign for *i* in the first letter of the name was quite clear according to him. What is even more astonishing is that he gives preference to the form of the name beginning with *da* as will be obvious from the caption of his article[3] and its mention before the form commencing with *di* in the body of the article.[4] How did then he come to prefer the name Damabhadra ? The fact is that after the first-named writter had sent his paper on Sachabhada's coins for publication but prior to its actual publication his friend Shri Raghunath Sanghi of Nagpur, who had also found the coins of Satyabhadra, brought to him a few coins found in the neighbouring areas on which he read clearly the name Damabhada[5] and felt that the reading of the name on Mirashi's coin also must have been Damabhada. In course of one of their meetings he mentioned these points to Mirashi who immediately on seeing his paper on the coins of Satyabhadra took the opportunity to correct his earlier reading.

Mirashi further states that as the coin published by him was in a very indifferent state of preservation, he gave it for treatment to a friend at the local (Nagpur) Science College (now Institute of Science). But

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1. "A Coin of [Da]mabhadra from Pauni", *JNSI*, XL, pp. 104-105.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 9.
3. See fn. 6 above.
4. *JNSI*, XL, p. 105, line 9.
5. These coins were found much before the publication of Alaka Tiwari's coins (*Ibid.*, XLIII, part ii, p. 39). Now many more coins of the Bhadras including Satyabhadra, Damabhadra and Dharmabhadra are in the collections of aur friends Shri Raghunath Sanghi, Shri Prashant Kulkarni and Shri Ramesh Kottamkar and will be published shortly.

before doing so he had prepared a tentative eye-copy of the legend on it and M.A. Suboor (who had found the coin alongwith another from a pit containing a stone-slab inscription) had photographed it. Later, he came to learn that the coin was lost by the aforesaid friend, and consequently he had to depend on the eye-copy and the photograph.[1]

However, the coin actually does not seem to have been lost and appears to be deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. We fail to understand how Mirashi chose to make such a statement about the fate of the coin, and that nearly thirtyfive years after its publication,[2] when the authorities of the Museum repeatedly declare the coin to be in their cabinets. B.C. Jain, in his inventory of hoards and finds of coins, published about twelve years after Mirashi, wrote on the coin, has given the deposition of the coin as Central Museum.[3] Later, V.P. Rode, while describing the coin collection of the Museum on the occasion of its centenary celebrations in 1964, confirmed this position.[4] Thus, the coin is not lost and the legend, devices, etc. on it are still verifiable.

It will now be worthwhile making a few observations about the coin in question. Mirashi describes the coin as cast which does not appear to be correct. It is clearly die-struck as can be seen from the incuse mark on the left side of the coin which is quite clear in the photograph published by him. The coins of Sachabhada are also die-struck and so are the numerous coins belonging to the members of what may be called the Bhadra dynasty in some local collections.[5] Many of them bear clear traces of die-striking.

Secondly, Mirashi's description of an obverse device as the sun symbol in a circle is also not borne out by the photograph accompanying his article which fairly clearly shows it to be the figure of a hare running in a circle. This device, it may be pointed out, is met with on some other Bhadra coins also.

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[1] *Ibid.*, XL, pp. 104-05.

[2] *Ibid.*, This statement is not found in his article in *ibid.*, VI, pp. 9-10, where the description shows that it was based on the actual coin.

[3] Jain, *op. cit.*, 6, no. 9.

[4] Rode, *op. cit*,

[5] See fn. 5, p. 108 above.

And lastly, the date given by Mirashi (third century BC) appears to be too early even on palaeographical considerations. It will be safe to assign it to the post-Śuṅga pre-Sātavāhana period. The first-mentioned author has suggested for Satyabhadra a date either prior to the rise of the Sātavāhanas or in the first-second century AD when their power was undermined due to the rise of the Kshaharāta Kshatrapas; but he prefers the first alternative.[1] Mirashi, who earlier assigned it to about the third century BC,[2] now prefers to place it in the second century AD *i. e.*, about four centuries later.[3] He observes that little is known about the Sātavāhana rulers of that period for there are no records or coins of any of the Sātavāhanas before Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi in Vidarbha except that of Āpilaka, the eighth Andhra-Sātavāhana king of the Puranic list,[4] whose coin has been discovered in South Kosala.[5] In this connection reference may, however, be made to the coins of Sātakarṇi, Sātavāhana, Sāti, etc. found in this region which may fill up this gap to a considerable extent. A coin of a Mahārathi from Mandhal[6] is also of some interest in this connection.

There is another important point which clinches the issue. Some of the coins of Damabhadra both in some local collections as well those published by Alaka Tiwari and are in the collection of Shanker Tiwari of Bhopal are produced by punch-marking technique. Thus, we now have coins of the Bhadras minted by both punch-marking and die-striking techniques. There is no doubt that the punch-marked coins preceded the die-struck ones. It will thus follow that Damabhadra was the first member (in any case earlier than Satyabhadra) of the so-called Bhadra dynasty and gave a start to his minting activity by first issuing punch-marked coins and later, after die-striking technique was evolved, minted die-struck coins. This definitely points to the pre-Sātavāhana period. For, the Sātavāhanas followed the die-striking technique from the very beginning, the coins of

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[1] *ABORI*, Diamond Jubilee Volume, p. 966. Also see *JNSI*, XLIV, p. 4.

[2] *JNSI*, VI, pp. 9-10.

[3] *Ibid.*, XL, p. 105.

[4] F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 36 and 39.

[5] The coin was found at Balpur in the Bilaspur district, and not in the Raigarh district as generally believed.

[6] *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 236-37.

Satakarni I manufactured by punch-marking technique being confined only to the Ākara region.[1] Moreover, now we have at least three Bhadra chiefs, and may be a fourth one if Gobhadra known from certain Kotalingala coins belonged to the same family, who cannot be satisfactorily accommodated in the short Kshatrapa interregnum during the Sātavāhana period. There is, therefore, no alternative but to place the Bhadra chiefs in the pre-Sātavāhana period.

We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the Bhadra chiefs ruled over the Vidarbha and adjoining areas in the pre-Sātavāhana period and were followed, perhaps without much gap, by the Sātavāhanas, who seem to have brought this region under their sway during the reign of Sātakarṇi I.[2]

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[1] In the Ākara (Eran-Vidiśā) region punch-marking technique was in vogue for a considerably longer period than in other areas and was obviously current till it was annexed by Sātakarṇi I, who continued it for coins issued from the mints situated in that area. His coins elsewhere were die-struck. Coins of Simuka also are die-struck.

[2] Coins of Sātakarṇi I have been reported from excavations at Pauni. See *ibid.*, XXXV, pp. 106-12; *Early Indian Indigenus Coins* (ed. D. C. Sircar), pp. 111-12. The Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela also seems to point to Sātakarṇi I's rule over Vidarbha.

MADĀVIKE : A BHĀGILĀYA (THE EARLIEST INSCRIBED COIN)

SHANKER PRASAD TIWARI

The present shudy reveals the hidden numismatic treasure of the unique ancient mound near Nadner which has already yielded some twenty known and unknown inscribed coins of pre-Christian era. This find-spot, of all the coins to be described, is a pre-Mauryan habitational site presently in deserted condition. It is a huge mound spreading between the modern village of Tillot and Nadner, on the right bank of the Narmada, in Budhni tahsil of district Sehore in Madhya Pradesh.

Madāvike : A new name

Four months and forty years before a new coin with legend in Aśokan characters, '*Madavika*' was for the first time introduced by A.S. Altekar.[1] Hat's off to that great numismatist who on the basis of his critical faculties, predicted that the source of the coin must be somewhere in Eraṇ-Kauśāmbi-Kannuja area.

Subsequently K. K. Das Gupta located another similar coin with legend *Madavī* (*Ka*?) in the collection of N.S. Singhi. His discovery too could not make any headway into the problem.

I have the pleasure to record that the origin of this coin is the site of the ancient mound near Nadner. In the various collections made by me from this mound during past several years, four such coins have been collected so far. Due to this I could discover the full and correct reading of the coin legend.

The reading '*Madāvike*' is very clear in the present coin.

So now for the first time in forty year the mystry of the legend and the find spot of coin of 'Madāvike' has been solved.

Bhāgilāya Coins

Like 'Madāvike' the mound has yielded a large number of coins of Bhāgilāya. And a study of this find has helped to solve confusion created by some scholars.

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[1] *JNSI*, 1942.

Five coins bearing the legend *Bhāgilāya* were published by S.L. Katare[1] who attributed these to an unknown ancient city of Bhāgil. A.S. Altekar, in his editorial footnote in the same volume, suggested that it is the city Bhāgilā while reading the legend as *Bhāgilāyā*. After twenty-eight years of its publication, the coins legend again became alive during the years 1980-81.

According to K. D. Bajpai, as published in *Madhu*, "The legend on these full and ardha kārshāpaṇas is Bhāgilāyā written in bold Aśokan Brāhmī characters. These coins were most probably issued by a city-state called Bhāgilā. K. B. Tiwari interpreting the legend *Bhagilāya*, assigns it to the city of "Bhagila".[2]

Alka Tiwari, suggests that "Bhagilaya" stands for "Bhagilā" and "it is more probable that these coins were issued by a queen. And if it was so, these coins would be the evidence of a woman as the head of a state."[3]

Such are the fanciful conclusions, existing today, about the legend of the coin. This is there because no thought was given by the scholars, on the normal shifting of the individual dies on the flan of punch-marked coin where several symbols have to be struck separately. So the solution of the problem lies in the tedious technique of its minting. The top punch die containing inscription and lotus got shifted little upwards and downwards during the manufacturing of coins. This resulted in two, different impressions, Bha and Bhā, of the legend *Bhāgilāya*.

K. D. Bajpai committed similar mistake by reading *Bhāgilaya*. This has happened possibly because of the partial corrosion of the coin surface of the speciman read. On a few corroded coins, radiating petals of lotus near the '*ya*' of the legend may disappear leaving a horizontal line. The horizontal stroke, according to Bajpai, is the mātrā *a*, but it is a part of lotus symbol. All the above conjectures, evolved out of their readings of the legend, are wrong but for Katare who had to work hard to connect the inscription spread in five coins of poor condition. A good number of

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1. *Ibid.*, XIV, 1952.
2. *Malva Throuh The Ages.*
3. *Numismatic Digest*, IV.

Bhāgilāya coins with full legend are with me. The legend *Bhāgilāya*, in early Brāhmi is neatly punched on them.

They are being discussed as follows :

Classification of Coins and new Discoveries

In the four rainying seasons of the last four years, more than fifty Bhāgilāya coins were procured and collected. Their study has revealed the presence of all three published varieties and also of a number of new type of coin unpublished. Bhāgilāya coins have two group of symbols punched on them.

Symbol Group I : 4 Symbols. Bottom : river with fishes and tortoise; Middle : humped bull and tree is railings; Top : legend with lotus (punched upright and upside down).

Symbol Group II : 4 Symbols. Bottom : fishes and tortoise; Middle : hooded Cobra and tree in railing; Top : legend and lotus (punched upside down).

The punching of Bull and Snake symbols on the left or on the right side of the coin has produced the four variety of coin in the classification. Combination Group I and Group II on the two side of coins have produced two variety of bi-face coins. The combination of Bull type one on the reverse of punch-marked symbols and the counter markings have produced three more varieties of the coins.

Following is the brief out line of classification of Bhāgilāya coins.

Class I *Bull Type* : Here bull and tree in railing inter change their place but, the other two symbols remain unchanged. So we have two varieties of Bull type coins :

1. Bull right—(legend upside down)
2. Bull left—(legend up right)

Class II *Cobra Type* : Here also the top and bottom symbols remain unchanged but the middle symbols Cobra and tree inter change their places. So we have two varieties of Cobra type coins :

1. Cobra right—(legend upside down). New discovery.
2. Cobra left—(legend upside down)

Class III. *Bi-face Type* : Here two obverse of two different varieties of Bhāgalāya coins have been punched on the two sides of coin, *i.e.*

1. Bull right/Cobra left. New discovery.
2. Cobra left/Bull left. New discovery.

Class IV. *Hybrid Bi-face Type* : Here the one side of the coin is of exotic origin and the other side is Bhāgilāya variety.

1. Nadore Punch mark/Bull right. Idantified for the first time.

Class V. *Counter Marked Type* : Here we find '*Ya*-and-lotus' counter marked on coins.

1. Cobra left. Reverse counter marked.
2. Bi-face-Cobra left/Bull left : Counter marked on bull left side.

So at present, five classes of the types and nine varieties of the Bhāgilāya coins are known to us. The three varieties out of the nine now known have been published, but the remaining six varieties have been broght in to light for the first time.

The detailed study of the coins are in progress for the publication of a monograph. Even then I am striving to reveal some very important aspects of the coins.

Discovery of the symbols on the reverse of the B variety of coin of Dr. Katare : He could identify the presence of three symbols, the river, lotus flower and tree. Then after 28 years of his publication, Alka Tiwari made the following comment. "Moreover, this coin, like the other coins is not blank on the back. The reverse bears some symbols which are very faint. Thus his fifth coin constitutes a third variety of coins. A similar bi-faced coin also exists in my father's collection. I propose to publish at some later date. There I might discuss this coin". This is a superfluous comment on the published work of a high standard, without giving any proof in support of her own writing. She had seen the illustration of Katare's in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* before publishing her article in *Numismatic Digest*. She has also seen such coin in her father's collection, which she proposes to publish. With all this in hand, why then, she failed to notice the symbols described by Katare. Reasons best known her the proposed publication in support of the comment is still in dark.

Katare's identification of the three symbols on a worn out coin is correct. He deserves all praise for this rather than a passing ridicule. Two coins of the same variety are in my collection. They have five symbols on them which inlcude the 30 years old identified symbols of Katare. My discovery has revealed the unknown combination of the five punches on the so called reverse of the Bhāgilāya coins. The new symbols are Traingle-headed standard-in-railing and an elephant. It is now clear that these bi-face coins are not a mis-struck coin as postulated by Katare. The coin belongs to class IV hybrid bi-face type, of my classification.

Discovery of the earliest incribed punch-mark coin of India :

The contemporanity of the large copper punch-marked coins and the inscribed punch-marked coin is well known. But in the evolutionary history of the coins of India, no link between them is found. No coin was discovered which could illustrate their connection and common ancestry.

May I request, the eminent scholars to enable me to associate them in sharing the glory of the discovery of the centuary in the numismatic history of India; "The Nadore[1] copper punch-marked coin—the Mother of the Bhāgilāya coin", on the occasion of the 70th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India. The blank reverse side of the Nadore copper punch-marked coin was used for minting Bhāgilāya inscribed punch-marked coin.

So we have, to day in our midst, the first ever discovered punch-marked coin with legend on the back of the regular issue of the punch-marked coin. The link between the two types of coins is now a established fact. The problem of the origin of the grouping of the symbols on the Bhāgilāya coin might be solved by some scholar working on the punch-marked coins of Betwa source region and middle Narmada Valley. When ever a coin with some akiness of Bhāgilāya symbols is brought to light, the pedigree will be revealed. Speaking for myself, I am very sure that Bhāgilāya belongs to the pure punch-marked pedigree.

Whether Bhāgilāya was the name of a king or of a people we donot know. We now have to try to solve the problem of its time and the meaning of its legend.

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[1] The script submitted by the author gives various readings of the site name. [Ed.]

ŚIVA-ŚRĪ AS AN EPITHET OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA KINGS

V.V. MIRASHI

While discussing the identity of Śiva-śrī Puḷumāvi mentioned in an inscription at Vanavāsī in this *Journal*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 151 ff., we poined out for the first time that Śiva-śrī was prefixed optionally to the names of Sātavāhana kings in inscriptions and legends on coins. A.M. Shastri takes a different view. He says that the Sātavāhana king to whose name Śiva-śrī was prefixed was different from him whose name was mentioned without it. This is an important point which deserves to be discussed in detail.

The Puraṇas give the following genealogy of the Andhras (Sātavāhanas) relevant for our discussion[1] :—

rājācha Gautamīputra eka-viṁśat tato nṛipaḥ
ashṭāviṁsaḥ sutas tasya Pulomā vai bhavishyati
[ekona-triṁsatir bhāvyaḥ Sātakarṇi tato nṛipaḥ]
Śivaśrīr vai Pulomā tu sapt-aiva bhavitā nṛipaḥ

The third hemistich given above occurs in a MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa*. Sātakarṇi mentioned there in is taken to be Vāsishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi.

Shastri says that these verses give the following genealogy :— Gautamīputra—Puḷumāvi—Sātakarṇi—Śivaśri Puḷumāvi.[2] We know from coins discovered so for that Puḷumāvi, Sātakarṇi and Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi were all Vāsishṭhīputras,[3] i.e. they were sons of Gautamīputra from the same queen of the Vasishṭha gotra. Let us pause here for a moment and ask ourselves, "Is it likely that when Gautamīputra had one son named Puḷumāvi, he would have named another born to him as Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi ? Would he not have given him a name different from Puḷumāvi ?" This is sufficient to prove the untenability of Shastri's view.

But this is not the only evidence that goes against Shastri's view. There is another evidence which makes that view impossible.

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[1] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* (*DKA*), p. 42.

[2] *JNSI*, XLIII, ii, p. 136.

[3] *History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas* (*HISWK*), pp. 52, [271], [269].

After mentioning Lambodara, the Purāṇas give the following hemistich about his successor[1] :—

Āpīlako daśa dve cha tasya putro bhavishyati

This gives Āpīlaka as the name of the successor of Lambodara. On the other hand, the legend on a coin of Āpīlaka found at Bālpur,[2] runs as follows:—*Siva-siris-Âpīlakasa* (This coin is of Śiva-śrī Āpīlaka). If we accept Shastri's view, we shall have to suppose that this Śiva-śrī Āpīlaka was different from Āpīlaka. There is no evidence in support of his suppotion. Besides, it will increase the number of the Andhra (Sātavāhana) kings by one.

Take again the following hemistich about Skanda Sātakarṇi[3] :—

Śiva-Skandhaḥ Sātakarṇir bhavit-āsy-ātmajaḥ samāḥ

This hemistich is very corrupt. In the first place, it does not mention the regnal period of the king. Secondly; *Skandha* stands there for Skanda. Thirdly, he was not a son of Śiva-śrī Puḷumāvi, but his brother. From his coins[4] in the Wategaon hoard we know that he also was a Vāsishṭhīputra i.e. a son of Gautamiputra from his queen of the Vasishṭha gotra. His coins were found in both the Tarhāḷa and the Wategaon hoards, but they had no word like Śiva-śrī in their legends. It occurs, however, in the Purāṇic text cited above. This shows that Skanda Sātakarni and Śiva-Skanda Sātakarṇi were identical. Shastri would have to suppose that they were different, but for this there is absolutely no evidence.

It is thus as clear as daylight that Āpīlaka and Śiva-śrī Āpīlaka are identical as are Skanda and Śiva-Skanda. The Purāṇas in their genealogical list omit the epithet in the case of Āpīlaka, but use it in that of Skanda. The Purāṇas and coins have used it optionally in the case of Puḷḷmāvi.[5] The epithet was an honorific and was used optionally in the case of the Sātavāhanas.

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[1] *DKA*, p. 39.

[2] *HISWI*, p. [267].

[3] *DKA*, p. 42.

[4] *HISWK*, p. [270].

[5] *DKA*, p. 42; *HISWK*, p.]269].

DIONYSOS OF INDO-GREEK COINS—A STUDY

K. CHAUDHARY

The present paper is an attempt to analyse the problem of identification of Dionysos depicted on the Indo-Greek coins. We will first of all discuss the coins in question and the context in which their re-identification is necessary. Secondly, we are analysing the known, but not properly utilised evidence of Megasthenes. Thirdly, this is to draw the attention of scholars to a remarkable Greek text called *Dionysiaca* by Nonnus of great signficance. Fourthly, we are re-examining the coin of Agathocles, found from Al-Khanum. Fifthly, we are trying to sort out the cause of the depiction of Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa on the reverse of one and the same coin. In the end, we propose to make certain observations which may be of some help for further research.

I

On certain coins of Pantaleon and Agathocles, the Indo-Greek kings Dionysos has been depicted.

On some obolus, cupro-nickel round coins and medium sized copper coins of Pantaleon, bust of Dionysos is represented.[1]

Obverse : Bust of young Dionysos to r., wearing ivy-wreath; thyrsos over shoulder.

Reverse : Panther to r., l. fore-paw raised. Legend : above, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; below, ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ

On some obolus and hemiobolus cupro-nickel round coins, as well as on some medium sized, round shape copper coins of Agathocles Dionysos is depicted.[2]

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[1] *BMC*, p. 9, No. 1-2, Pl. III. 8. A.N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* (Calcutta, 1965), p. 165, No. 2-3, Pl. XXVII. 10,

[2] *BMC*, p. 11, No. 6-8;Pl. IV. 6-8: *PMC*, p. 17, Nos. 43-44, Pl. II. 43; Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 77, No. 7-8, Pl. III. 6-7; R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Memoirs De La Delegation Archaeologique Francaise En Afghanistan* : Tome XIV (Paris, 1953), p. 75f.; *White King Sale Catalogue*, Part I (Amsterdam, 1904), p. 3, No. 23.

Obverse : Pallet border, bust of Dionysos to r., wearing ivy-wreath; thyrsos over l. shoulder.

Reverse : Panther r. touching a vine with his raised paw
Legend on top : BAΣIΛEΩΣ
below : A¬AθOKΛEOYΣ

These Dionysos coins on the reverse depict panther, the panther of Dionysos. Because of this when some 'Dancing Girl' type of copper coins of the same two Indo-Greek kings show panther also, the panther has been taken to be panther of Dionysos.[1]

The Dionysos of these coins has been taken by scholars as Dionysos the Greek deity. As both are the Indo-Greek kings and Dionysos is a famous Greek deity, hence this equation has been established. In this paper, we propose to analyse, the validity of this long-standing claim.

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[1] Pantaleon, Indian Standard, Dancing Girl Type of Coin, *PMC*, p. 16, Nos. 35-40. Pl. II. 35; *BMC*, p. 8, Nos. 3-5, Pl. III. 9; *IMC*, p. 10, Nos, 1-3, Lahiri, *op. cit.*, P. 165, No. 4, pl. XXVII. 11; *White King Sale Catalgue*, Part I, p. 3, Nos. 20-2 ; R. Curiel and D. Schlumcerger, *op. cit.*, p. 75f.

Agathocles, Indian Standard, Dancing Girl Type Coin. B*MC* p. 11, Nos. 9-14, Pl. IV. 9; IMC p. 10, Nos. 1-3., No. 2, pl. II. 2; PMC, p. 17, Nos. 45-50, Pl. II, 45, Lahiri *op. cit.*, p. 71. Nos. 10, Pl. II. 9. Gardner took it to be 'maneless lion r. in incuse square'. Whitehead has taken it to be 'maneless lion or leopard'. Tarn thinks that here the animal is panther of Dionysos, cf. W.W. Tran, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, (Cambridge, 1951). p. 158. The Dancing Girl type of these coins are of copper and square in shape, The Reverse of the coins has been described by Gardner—Female figure left with long pendants from her ears; clad in oriental drapery with trousers; holds in her right hand a flower". In 1931 (IHQ, XVI, p. 302) J. N. Banerjea because of her long "non-human head" called "*Yakshiṇī Aśvamukhī*" but in 1957 he revised his early view and preferred to call it 'a dancing girl or Lakshmi, the Indian goddess of fortune'. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Calcutta, 1957), p. 158.

Panther occurs on two type of coins of Menander Dikaios and one type of Artemidorus, but whether this panther is that of Dionysos or not 'we do not know' holds A. N. Lahiri, *op. cit.* p. 29. Representation of Dionysos is well known from the Gandhara School of Art. One 'crude copy of Dionysos' is known from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, K. A. Shastri, op. cit., pp. 755.56, 859, Pl. LXXVIII (2). For Dionysos from Sirkap (Ist cen. BC see *ASIAR*, 1913-14, Part I, p. 15, Pl. XVI (c).

There can be no doubt that the deities represented on the Indo-Greek coins were mostly borrowed from the Greek mythology. Yet 'with their very elastic pantheon, they readily identified Indian Gods with their own deities'-opines Marshall.

Greeks had a tendency to identify their deities with the deities of the region. In Italy they identified Minerva with Athena and Bacchus with Dionysos.[2] This original Greek character is expected to have its impact on Indo-Greeks also. The deities depicted on the Indo-Greek coins are taken to be 'essentially Greek in nature', yet the deities 'are sometimes depicted with features characteristic of their oriental couter-parts'.[3] In addition to this some unidentified deities and local deities are also depicted (e. g. the city of Kāpiśā).[4] This is why a thorough inquiry into the problem of identification of Dionysos is required.

II

Megasthenes (as reported by Diodorus Siculus) recorded three Dionysos. He informs that 'there were three individuals of this name who lived in different ages'.[5] 'The most ancient of them was Indos'. Second has been named Kataogon. The third is called as Lenaios.[6] Diodorus Siculus while reporting in this context writes, "It is further said that the place is pointed out in India even to this day where the god had been, and that cities are called by his name in the vernacular dialects, and that many other important evidences still exist of his having been born in India, about which it would be tedious to write".[7] While commenting on the Magasthenes account of Dionysos, long ago, D. D. Kosambi rightly held that 'the immense significance of this Greek report has been missed'.[8]

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1. Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 26.
2. Marshall, *Ibid.*
3. Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
4. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 62-64.
5. Allan Dahlquist, *Megasthenes and Indian Religion*, (Delhi, 1977), p. 48 for the original Greek text, and, p. 49 for English translation.
6. Just like three Dionysos of Diodorus, Cicero distinguished five Dionysi (i. e. Dionysos).
7. Dahlquist, *loc. cit.*
8. D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (London, 1965), p. 117.

This clearly illustrates that at least one of the three Dionysos was supposed to be Indian by Megasthenes (302-288 BC) and his reporter Diodorus (60-30 BC).[1]

From the account it is clear that the cult of the Greek deity had made great strides. This is quite possible also, as Megasthenes informs, that from the time of Dionysos to Alexander and Sandrokottos (i. e. Chandragupta Maurya) there have been some 153 or 154 Indian kings.[2]

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[1] Allan Dahlquist holds "since the coming of Dionysos to the Indians is so well-documented, we may wonder if the actual notice is that of Megasthenes". He writes "We observe also that it is never said in this frg. that it relates the traditions of the Indians. Nor it is said that the notice is told of the Indian Dionysos. The notice is to be regarded as that of Diodorus himself. On account of different myths of different people on the same Dionysos, the same is to be regarded as three different persons. In the same way Cicero distinguishes five different Dionysos, as has already been mentioned. The point is worthless as a help to identification, and must be excluded". *Megasthenes and Indian Religion* (Delhi, 1977), p. 199. But we are unable to agree with him. It is crystal-clear from the text itself that it relates to Indians. Otherwise how the place where Dionysos was born in India could be pointed out. Secondly, Dahlquist while denouncing this evidence as "worthless" for identification, he himself has taken help of this piece of evidence for the identification of Dionysos. See Dahlquist, *op. cit.*, pp. 239, 259-63 etc. Thirdly, he was not aware of any text associating Dionysos with India in a period preceeding to Alexander, hence, the question of evolution did not occur to him. Taking Alexander as the first person for the Indo-Greek contacts, his assigning the passage to Diodorus was to some extent justified. But in the light of the evidence of Nonnus, the same cannot be taken to be correct.

Suvira Jaiswal has reviewed the work of Dahlquist and the related problem of Dionysos. She has identified the three Dionysos of Diodorus Siculus with Indra, Śiva and Saṅkarshaṇa. *The Origion and Development of Vaishṇavism* (Delhi, 1981), pp. 240-242.

[2] a. Plinius Secundus Major (23-79 A D) Original Text p. 54 and English Translation p. 55 (Dahlquist). "From the days of Father Bacchus to Alexander the Great their (Indian) kings are reckoned at 154, whose reigns extend over 6451 years and 3 months". Dahlquist, p. 55.

b. Caius Iulius Solinus (3rd cen. A D), Original Text, p. 54, and English Translation, p. 55. (Dahlquist). "From him (Bacchus i. e. Dionysos) to Alexander the great 6451 years are reckoned with 3 months additional the calculation being made by counting the kings who reigned in the intermediate period, to the number of 153". Dahlquist, p. 55.

This shows Dionysos had taken birth quite early and as such there was much time span for the progress of the Dionysos cult. The time span, might have led to sorting out similarities and ultimate identification of Dionysos, with other deities having similar qualities. This is why we know about some three or five Dionysos. As such, when Megasthenes informs us about three Dionysos and one born in India, it means that the Greek deity had already been identified with some deity of India, whom while reporting, they preferred to talk about his nativity with interest, as this was tempting to them also, keeping in view their Greek blood.

III

We are drawing the attention of scholars towards *Dionysiaca*, a Greek work, which refers to a tradition of great significance. The relevent text has been 'faithfully translated from the original Greek' by H. Heras. It runs as follows—

"Curl haired Blemys, the leader of the ruddy Indians, held up a bloodless olive branch with the supplicating army, and bowed a servile knee to Dionysos who had slain his Indian subjects. The god beholding him bent to the ground, took him by the hand and raised him; and since he abhorred the government and the manner of Dariadeus, the god conveyed him together with his many tongued people, far from the dark Erythraean region, near the contiguous ocean, and gave a name to the inhabitants of its towns. But that fast Blemys passed onward to the mouth of the Nile which has seven branches, destined to be the contemporary ruler over the people of Ethiopia. The low land of the Etherian city of Meroe received him as a lord, leaving his name to the noble family of the future Blemyses".[1]

From the account of Nonnus it is known that the Indian Chief 'first settled on the coast of Arabia Felix, bordering on the next ocean, that is the Red Sea, and finally proceeding to Egypt ruled there as a king and founded a dynasty'. Blemy has been taken to be corrupt form of some ancient Indian name. H. Heras after a detailed study of the circumstances of the story has suggested that 'the original name must have been Balarāma'.[2]

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[1] Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XVII, VV. 385-397. H. Heras, *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1953) pp. 395-96. The term "ruddy Indians" refers invariably to the Indians of the Erythraean Sea, i. e. the Indians of Ind a, Heras *op. cit.*, p. 396.

[2] Heras; *op. cit.*, p. 396.

Blemy was against the government of Dariadeus. Heras has taken it to be the 'hellenised form of the name of Duryodhana'.[1] Balarāma is known to have taught Duryodhana the use of mace as a weapon, yet in the *Āraṇyakaparva* of the *Mahābhārata* at one place it is recorded that he was surprised as to why the righteous Pāṇḍavas were so unhappy, when the wicked Duryodhana was ruling the earth. He went on a *tīrthayātrā*, the account of which is given in *Śalyaparva*. During this he may have gone to foreign lands.[2]

Ancient Dionysia, lesser Dionysia, new Dionysia, greater Dionysia and six other festivals of this name[3] were celebrated in honour of Dionysos. It has been held that these fastivals 'were brought from Egypt into Greece by Melampus, the son of Amithaon'.[4] This illustrates, the extra association of Dionysos with Egypt.

The *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus deals with Dionysos, as is clear from the name of the text. The Greek lineage of the author and his interest in Greek culture is imminent. He was 'born in Egypt'.[5] Dionysos had some extra association with Egypt. As such his account of the meeting of Blemy i. e. Balarāma with Dionysos the deity in Egypt is of immense cultural significance.

The chronological position regarding the visit of Balarāma and its reporting by Nonnus may put us in a difficult corner. But L. R. Farnell in connection with his discussions on the Greek religion has observed that the chronological statement is embarrassed by the absence of any record of date for the institution and diffusion of certain religious ideas which, though may have been mentioned by a late scholar, may descend from an age for anterior.[1] This may hold good regarding the reporting of the meeting of Balarāma with Dionysos in Egypt.

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[1] Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

[2] Heras has observed "We may remember that in Yemen there was the ancient city of Rāmah and that prophet Ezechiel when speaking of the merchants of Yemen, calls them specifically "the merchants of Saba and Rāmah" [Ezech., XXVII, 22]. They seem therefore to have been known after the name of Balarām". Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

[3] Hodder M. Werstropp, *Primitive Symbolism* (as illustrated in Phallic Worship), Delhi, 1970, p. 55.

[4] Werstropp, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[5] Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

IV

Recently six rectangular bronze coins of Agathocles weighing from 2.33 to 3.307 grammes have been reported from Ai-Khanum on the borders of the U. S. S. R. and Afghanistan.[2] Paul Bernard[3] has noted that the obverse and reverse of the coin shows two masculine personages standing to front identically dressed in Indian attries. They according to Bernard, wear (1) "Pagne (*dhotī*)" covering the thighs upto just below the knees. (2) "Chale (*uttarīya*)" is attached to the shoulders (or where the arm bends) falling in front of the body upto the waist in deep curve showing bare chest. (3) Large earings are depicted. (4) They wear half boots with curved sole ends. (5) They wear a kind of helmet, with two floating ribbons, surrounded by an immense transversal "aigrette." (6) They have swords hanging on a cross-belt, in a long sheath. One figure holds *chakra* and *maṇḍala* (pear-shaped vase). The other holds *a gadā* and a strange instrument which is probably a weapon in the form of a 'manche' which ends with a double 'crochet' making a 'Z' shape, which is somewhat between an *aṅkuśa* and a *hala.*[4]

Bernard talks of two alternatives. (1) Here we have a double image of a Greek king, who might have been represented on the coin as *chakravartin* of the Indian conception. (2) Otherwise these may repsesent two deities. He is in favour of the second alternation. According to him the figure holding *chakra* and *maṇḍala*, stand for Vishṇu. The other 'holding a *gadā* and the stick with the hook (manche a crochet), which is between a hatchet or axe (hache) and a hook (crochet) of an elsphant, probably a weapon suitable for the god of violence, is identified with Śiva.[5]

A. K. Narain has held that the figure with the *chakra* 'could well represent Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa)' or 'it could be the earliest experiment in depicting the Buddha'.[1] But Buddhist *chakra* had nothing to do with sword. On the coin the figure is depicted having *chakra* along with a sword hanging on a cross-belt in a long sheath. So keeping in view the Buddhist iconography the figure can not be associated with Buddha or anyone of the Bodhisattavas.

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[1] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, (Hastings), VI, p. 394.
[2] Vide *JNSI*, Vol. XXXV (1973) pp. 73-75, pl. VII.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

Matsya Purāṇa refers to eight-spoked *Sudarshana Chakra* of Vishṇu besmeared with oil.[2] In a Mirzapur cave-painting of about 800 BC a man having discuss in his raised right hand alongwith a horse-driven chariot is shown. In it seven spokes are clear and space for the eighth one is blank[3] which, probably, has vanished with the passage of time. The *chakra* of the coin also has eight spokes. Therefore, it is suggested that there we have *chakra* as a weapon.

The figure with *chakra* in its right hand holds 'pear-shaped vase *(maṇḍala)*' and only this probably created difficulty in the identification of Narain. We think that it should be taken to be a mace. According to the *Dhanurveda*, maces are of three sizes i. e. thirty, forty or fifty *aṅgulas*, and of three types i. e. *sthūlāgrā* (pear-shaped), *chaturasrā* (quadriated) and *tālamūlākṛiti* (shaped like the root of palmyra) were used.[4] In this light we may suggest that thirty or forty *aṅgulas sthūlāgrā* type of mace is depicted on the coin.

The figure is two armed having discus and mace. According to *Harivaṁsa* the two armed Kṛishṇa should be depicted having *chakra* and

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[1] *Ibid.*, XXXV, p. 76.

[2] *Matsya Purāṇa*, 178, 39-42.

[3] D. D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality* (Bombay, 1962), p. 26 and figure no. 1.17 on p. 27. Kauṭilya has difined it as a '*ehala-yantra* (movable machine)'. (Book II. Chap. 18. The *Ādiparva* (33.2f) of the *Mahābhārata* discribes it as a revolving (*paribhramantaṁ*) weapon and sharp edged (*tīkshṇa-dhāram)*. In *Śiśupāla-vadha* (XVIII. 45) Māgha has described it as a weapon, which is hurled from a distance. It has power to cut off some of the limbs of enemy. Here it cuts off the trunk of an elephant. Kalidasa in *Raghuvaṁśa* (VII. 46) has described it as sharp and razor bladed *(kshurāgra)*. According to *Nīti-Prakāśikā* (IV. 47) it was having circular disc (*kuṇḍalākāram*) form, alongwith a triangular hole in its midst.

[4] *Aśanasa Dhanurveda Samkalanam*, Editor Pandit Rajaram (Lahore, 1923), pp. 39-40. Maces made of stone and copper are known from the Indus civilisation. Usually these are of three different shapes. The commonest amongst these is pear-shaped. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, I, p. 36.

gadā.[1] Hence it is suggested that the figure having *chakra* and *gadā* on the coin of Agathocles is Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa. The other fiigure, according to A. K. Narain, carries definitely a *mūsala* and a *hala* should be Balarāma.[2] This is highly convincing.

O. P. Singh holds that figures are 'portrayed in war panoply. They wear coat which may be identified with *lohajālika*. Such depictions are met with on the Indo-Greek Coins'.[3] It is clear from the coin that the two figures without nimbus represent warrior or Vīra.[4]

V

Aśoka for his Greek and Aramaic subjects put a bilingual inscription at Shar-i-Quna (old city of Kandhar). One inscription from this region has been reported in 1965 which is exclusively in the Greek language and script. Exclusive Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka have been reported from Pul-i-Darunta near Jalalabad and Lampaka i. e. modern Lamghan.[1] These inscriptions are definite proof of Greek population following Greek language exclusively. This must have helped in developing better understanding of the Indian culture amongst the Greeks of the area.

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[1] रुचिराग्रकरश्चास्य चक्रांकित इवेक्षते ।
द्वितीया उद्यतश्चापि गदासंयोगमिच्छति ।। *Harivaṁśa*, II. 25, 26.
Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology, U. P. No. 21-24, (June 78 Dec. 79), p. 60.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology*, U. P., No. 17 & 18 (June-Dec. 1976), p. 19. On page 18 he writes the figure with *chakra* and *maṇḍala* to be 'decidedly Vishṇu' where as on page 19 for the same he writes Vāsudeva. Again in 1978 he wrote for this figure to be 'the earliest anthropomorphic figure of Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa)'. (*Religion and Iconography on Early Indian Coins*, Varanasi, 1978, p. 56). It means that by Vishṇu on page 18 he means Vishṇu as identified with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa and not as Vishṇu, the Vedic deity. K. D. Bajpai holds that the upper and lower garments and '*chhatra*' (head-dress) is made of palm leaves. The parasol over the head of Balarāma is a bit smaller than that of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa. Even this parasol has been taken by Bajpai to be of palm leaf. K. D. Bajpai, The Deification of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, typed copy sent to me alongwith his letter dated Feb. 1st, 1982. He has tried to associate the two with 'Bṛija' area and their '*Gopa*' roots. Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa has been called 'Nārāyaṇa-Gopa' in the *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 4.39) and 'Gopaveśa Vishṇu' in the *Harivaṁśa* (II. 25.21). Yet he appears to take the depiction of the two on this coin of Agathocles to be as Vira, *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology* in U. P., No. 21-24, (June 78-Dec. 79), pp. 60-61. cf. also O. P. Singh, *Ibid.*

The upper garment of the two figures of this coin ought to be compared with the upper garment of Athena depicted on the coins of Strato I. This upper garment O. P. Singh has identified with '*Lohajāla* or *Lohajālika* of *Arthaśāstra* (II. 18). O. P. Singh, *A Cultural Study in the Early Coins of India* (Ph. D. thesis, 197<, Magadha University), p. 73.

[4] *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology*, U. P. *loc. cit.*

Demetrius, who invaded India, has been called *'Dharmamitra'* (i. e. friend of religion).[2] Pantaleon and Agathocles were close relations of Demetrius I.[3] The apparent religious zeal of Demetrius had its dividents in the form of political gains. Agathocles and Antimachus are well known for issuing medallions. The medallic pieces ought to be viewed 'as an appeal (mainly to the Greek citizens of Bactria) to enlight their sympathy and active support in favour of the various rivals in their struggle for political supremacy'.[4] On the other hand for enlisting the support of the Indians in general Agathocles declared himself a 'Hinduja' i. e. an Indian by birth.[5] He continued to associate himself with Buddhism, which is clear from his *stūpa* type of coins.[6] But he preferred more religious support. Like Antialcidas (Heliodorus—Besnagar inscription) he preferred to associate himself with *Bhāgavatism* as is evident from his coins found from Ai-Khanum.

Probably the story of change in coin device begins with Alexander, the Greek invader, who adopted 'eagle' in place of original Greek 'owl' sign, more probably, for his subjects of the far eastern parts. With Seleucus began the minting of coins in India (in this context). Euthydemus established many mints.[1] Demetrius was first to introduce bilingual coins. His suqure copper are a definite proof of following the Indian coin type. Pantaleon was first to use *Brāhmī* script. Agathocles' *'chaitya'* and Buddhist symbol are from earlier indigenous Indian coins. We have to be aware of the fact that living far away from their motherland for several generations these kings must have become much Indianised.

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[1] *JNSI*, XXXV, p. 56.

[2] Yugapurāṇa chapter of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* verse number seven. Jayaswal and Tarn have accepted the identification of *Dharmamitra* with Demetrius. cf. *JBORS*, XIV (1928), p. 397; Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 452-5.

[3] Macdonald, *CHI*. I, pp. 449-52; See Tarn also. Shastri, K. N., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 172.

[4] J. N. Banerjea, The Bactrian Greeks in India, in *Comprehensive History*, Vol. II, p. 159.

[5] K. A. N. Shastri, R. B. Joshi, P. C. Bagchi, J. N. Banerjea and M. Yamunachariar, Religious Movements, *Comprehensive History*, Vol. II, p. 365.

[6] [We donot subscribe to this view. The so-called *stūpa* figure on the coins of Agathocles is a *chaitya*, a well known traditional symbol appearing on the punch-marked, cast, local, tribal and Satavāhahana coins of early India. O. P. S.]

Rapson made interesting inferences about the local character of some of the devices on the Indo-Greek coins. He held that the lotus-carrying figure, as well as, its Hellenistic counterpart Artemis, especially when associated with a bull, should indicate Pushkalāvatī. He suggested that the enthroned Zeus-like divinity with the forepart of an elephant in the field ought to be taken as the local type of Kapiśā (identified by Whitehead as a city-goddess).[2] The Nike and bull's head devices have been taken to signify the cities of Nicaea and Bucephala, the cities founded by Alexander in memory of the incidents of the battle of the Hydaspes. In the same way it is held that the 'piloi' of the Discuri probably have a subtle allusion to Takshaśilā (Taksha-meaning cut and śira, another form of śila, meaning head) ought to be presumed to be the particular device of the city.[3]

Tarn has observed 'Zeus, one of the three deities of the Alexander coinage, had not before been used by any Bactrian king, and it is almost certain, from the types on the silver coinages of Pantaleon and Agathocles, that the Zeus of this tetradrachm is meant for the elephant-god of Kapiśā'.[4]

In this light it is observed that Dionysos depicted on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathoclas also must have had some local Indian character. Keeping in view the evidence of Nonnus and Megasthenes it is observed that here Balarāma is represented in the form of Dionysos. At least one third of Dionysos legend, keeping in view the evidence of Megasthenes, ought to be taken as Indian one. Here it is Saṁkarshaṇa-Balarāma.[5] In the same

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1. For Kapiśā and Pushkalāvatī mint towns associated with the Indo-Greeks, see Upendıa Thakur, *Mints and Minting in India* (Varanasi, 1972) pp. 121-22.
2. Whitehead, Notes on the Indo-Greeks, *NC.*, 1947, pp. 28-32.
3. J. N. Banerjea, in *Comprehensive History*, Vol. II, p. 169.
4. Tarn, *op. cit.*, (1938 ed), p. 138.
5. K. Chaudhary, *Origin and Development of Vaishnanism in Northern India* (Allahabad University, D. Phil thesis, 1966), pp. 128-29.

way Herakles of Agathocles was having the local character of Vāsudeva-Krishṇa. But this 'Hinduja' was not satisfied with these original Greek forms.

Richard Plant, while describing the heroes, gods and goddesses on the Greek coin-types, has taken into account 24 coin-types assigned to Dionysos and 34 coin-types assigned to Heracles. Amongst these three coins are significant for our studies. Coin no. 287 and no. 306 assigned to Heracles and belonging to fourth century BC (347-338 BC), and second century BC (190 onwards) respectively, and coin no. 265 assigned to Dionysos, belonging to first century BC profusely illustrate that even in Greece the kings adopted Dionysos and Herakles on observe and reverse of their coins.[1]

Agathocles was not content with the depiction of Dionysos and Herakles in Greek garb for local Indian character. Keeping in view the Greek roots he minted a coin-type on which these gods were represented in Indian form as Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Krishṇa. Thus he justified his local-roots.

Dionysos was son of Zeus and Semele, and Heracles was son of Zeus and Alcmene. P. Grimal holds that Heracles was 'the result of a vast mythical synthesis'. But in India Heracles has been equated with Vāsudeva-Krishṇa, who was younger half-brother of Balarāma. This situation also helped in the identification. The identification of Herakles with Vāsudeva-Krishṇa is well-known. Dionysos being elder brother had all the claim for being identified with Balarāma.[2] But it is a mockery of history that while we accept the Herakles Vāsudeva-Krishṇa equation, Dionysos[1] Balarāma equation has been matter of discussion for quite a long time.

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[1] Richard Plant, *Greek Coin Types and Their Identification*, (Seaby Pub., London. 1379), pp. 30-33.

[2] Suvira Jaiswal at one place holds that 'the Greeks identified Krishṇa with Herakles and Samakarshaṇa with Dionysos, and it is no wonder that they were favourably inclined towards their worship'. S. Jaiswal, *op. cit.*, p. 170. The same statement she gives on p. 57. Her statement on p. 188 about the identity of Herakles remains the same. Yet from page 240 to page 242, while dealing with the problem of the identification of Dionysos called Indos, Lenaios and Katapogen by Megasthenes, she has identified them with Indra, Saṁkarshaṇa and Śiva respectively. This makes her work self-contradictory.

VI

We draw the following conclusions from the foregoing discussion :

1. According to Nonnus, Balarāma as warrior met Dionysos in Egypt.
2. This meeting resulted in sorting out similarities :—
   - (a) both were great warriors,
   - (b) loved drinking, and
   - (c) were associated with fertility and agriculture.[2]
3. They were identified before the time of Megasthenes who has referred to three Dionysos, one born in India. He ought to be Balarāma.
4. This identification helped in establishing a close link between Heracles and Vāsudeva-Krishṇa.
5. This link led to sorting out similarities etc.
6. Herakles and Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa were ultimately identified. The identification was an established fact before the time of Megasthenes as it is evident from his ancount.
7. The Indo-Greek kings were having mints at Kapiśā, Pushkalāvatī and other towns.

   The regional mint workers must have helped their masters for minor deviations for making the coins more useful keeping in view the regional needs.

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[1] Dionysos has previously been identified by several scholars with Sūrya, the Holi festival, Krishṇa, Manu, Śiva and with tribal god of Mundas. For Sūrya see Cunnigham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Preface, pp. vii-viii, followed by Kennedy, *JRAS*, 1907, p. 969 fn.; Holi festival see Basu, *JRAS*, 1948, p. 105f. Krishṇa-Kannedy. Manu-Stein; Śiva Lassen, Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* II, pp. 137f.; Tribal god of Mundas, Dahlquist, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-89.

[2] "Of special interest to us, particularly from a literary point of view, are those mimetic vegetation-rites connected with the name of Dionysos—the dances and mummings of the 'goat-men' which ultimately led to Tragedy and Comedy. In these and many other ceremonies it is not primerily Dionysos the wine-god who is worshipped (a wine-deity pure and simple would hardly exclude wine from some of his offcrings, as Dionysos did), but rather Dionysos, the god of fertility in general and especially the fertility of the fields". H.J. Rose, *Festivals and Fasts* (Greek), *ERE*, V, p. 858.

8. Thus with minor changes the Greek deities became the regional or local or city deities.

9. In certain cases keeping in view the old identifications of deities, original Greek shapes in the depiction of the deities were maintained, on the basis of Megasthenes' account. We have been accepting for quite a long time that Herakles is no other than Vāsudeva-Krishṇa. Hence the figures of Herakles on some of the Indo-Greek coins ought to be taken as representation of Vāsudeva-Krishṇa in the Greek form. In the same way the representations of Dionysos on certain coins may stand for Balarāma.

10. Dionysos and Herakles were step brothers. They were being representsd on Greek coins. On some coins, on obverse one was represented and on reverse the other was represented.

11. Agathocles who was closely associated with the regional roots, represented on his coins Zeus, Dionysos, Herakles, Dancing girl and *stūpa*.

    Here the figures of Dionysos and Herakles ought to be taken as representations of Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Krishṇa in Greek form. The same stands for the depiction of Dionysos on the coin of Pantaleon.

12. Agathocles had association with Buddhism from the time of Demetrius I. The continuity is clear from the *stūpa* type of coins.

    He appealed the Greeks of the region for help. This is clear from the medallions he issued.

    He used Dionysos and Herakles symbols on coins meaning thereby Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Krishṇa in the Greek form.

13. For seeking the support of the followers of Bhāgavatism very much popular in the region[1] which also lies on the trade routes, Agathocles preferred to depict them in their original form. This was fully in keeping with the spirit of his being a 'Hinduja'.

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[1] Pāṇini refers to associations of Bhāgavatism with Takshaśilā.

14. The coins of Agathocles from Ai-Khanum represesent without fail Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Krishṇa. They are depicted as Vṛishṇi Viras'.[1]

15. Scholars for quite a long period have been holding sixth century BC as the oldest limit for Indo-Graeco-Roman contacts.[2] A fresh study in this field is required.

16. A thorough inquiry into the roots of the origin of the Gandhāra school of Art, in the light of present paper, may yield some significant results.[3]

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[1] The Mora well inscription from (near) Mathura of Śodāsa records 'the establishment of the beautiful and resplandent images of the five wonderful heroes of the Vṛishṇi clan in the stone temple during the reign of Svāmi Mahākshatrapa Rajuvula, by one Toshā, probably a lady of the Śaka race'; J. N. Banerjea, *Religion in Art and Archaeology* (Lucknow, 1968), p, 12. Another Mora well inscription probably mentions this temple as mahāsthāna i. e. great sanctury of Bhagavata Vāsudeva; *Ep. Ind.* XXIV, p. 288; *MASI*, No. 5, p. 171. The five Vṛishṇi *vīras* included Vāsudeva-Krishṇa, Samkarshaṇa. Balarāma, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba. Cf. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 13. This makes it clear that the worship of Vāsudeva-Krishṇa and Balarāma as *'vira'* was not only in vogue, great sancturies along with their images and other *'vīra'* kinsmen were established. *Vāyupurāṇa* (97. 1-4) describes them as *manushyaprakṛiti* i.e. gods as deified human beings.

[2] G. Bongard-Levin and S. Carpyuk, *India and Graeco-Roman World*, Summaries of Papers, presented by Soviet Scholars to the Vth, World Sanskrit Conference, Moscow, 1981, p. 204.

[3] I record my gratitude to Prof. K. D. Bajpai (Sagar) and my friend Dr. O. P. Singh (Jaunpur) for timely handing over the material to me.

SIVA ON KUSHĀṆA COINS

SAVITA SHARMA and MARUTI NANDAN TIWARI

(Pl. VIII. 3-18)

The gamut of motifs, icons, portraits and legends on the Kushāṇa coinage is fascinatingly large and thus, happens to furnish, as it were, information on contemporary religion, art, language and calligraphy. The icons and portraits on the Kushāṇa coinage include *inter alia* the deities drawn from various pantheons of India, Persia, Central Asia, Greece, the erstwhile city states of Italy, etc. The Brahmanical and the Buddhist pantheons find representations on Kushāṇa coins, the former having obviously found a discernible favour with the mintmasters. Another conspicuous feature is that, gods and goddesses depicted in Kushāṇa coins far outnumber, those represented in contemporary plastic art.[1]

Śiva undoubtedly enjoyed the most favoured position on the Kushāṇa coins. He has been represented in aniconic, theriomorphic and human forms. The god's anthropomorphic depiction has been attended to more devotedly than his aniconic and theriomorphic representations. It is surprising, however, to find Śiva's phallic representation playing truant on the Kushāṇa coinage.[2] Besides, Śiva is shown with all his traditional attributes except the serpent. However, several of the iconographic features, such as the rendering of three-faces and crescent, *ḍamarū*, tiger-skin, antelope and noose, are not noticed in the contemporary sculptures.[3]

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[1] The number of deities on Kushāṇa coins far exceeds even the gods and goddesses represented in the Indo-Greek and Scytho-Pārthian coinages. Rosenfield, J.M., *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, California, 1967, pp. 69-72; Mukherjee, B.N., *Art in Coinage*, Presidential address LXV Session of the Numismatic Society of India, Shillong, 1977, p. 24; Sharma, Savita, 'Kushāṇa Mudrāoñ mein Devî-Devatā' (Hindi), *Uttar Pradesh*, Lucknow, June 1982, pp. 52-55.

[2] Joshi, N. P., *Mathurā Sculptures*, Mathura, 1966, pp. 32-33, Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Delhi. 1974, pp. 113-14, 456-57; Bajpai, K. D., 'Evolution of the Iconography of Śiva', *Seminar on Bias in Indian Historiography* (ed. Devahuti), Delhi, pp. 280-81, Agrawala, V. S. *Bhāratīya Kalā* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1977, pp. 267-68.

[3] Joshi, N. P., *op. cit.* p. 33.

Śiva, invariably standing, appears in different forms on the coins of Kujula, Vima, Kanishka (c. 78-102 A. D.), Huvishka, Vāsudeva and the later Kushāṇa rulers. The coins of Vima, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva are specially noteworthy in this regard. The importance of these coins is not merely in the multiplication of hands and heads, but also in the rendering of varying attributes in the hands of Śiva. However, these iconographic features have great share in standardizing the icons of Śiva in later centuries. One such instance is representation of three-faced Śiva on the coins of Huvishka and Vāsudeva appearing again in the sculptures of the eight-ninth century AD, the most magnificent example of which is known from Elephanta (Bombay).

Kujula's coins represent the humped bull, topped by *nandipada* symbol.[1] We do not have any definite evidence as to the personal faith of Kujula.[2] The close and invariable association of humped bull with Śiva, right from the coins of his successor, Vima, connotes representation of Śiva in theriomorphic form. The representation of Śiva as bull, however, in not unknown on earlier coins.[3] The presence of *nandipada*, supposed to have been a Śaiva symbol, further supports our hypothesis. A coin generally ascribed to Kujula, shows a man with a bull, the human fiigure identified as Śiva.[4]

Vima was a staunch devotee of Śiva which is evidenced from his epithet 'Mahiśvarasa' and also the representation of Śiva on his coins. The epithet 'Mahiśvara' stands for Māheśvara, which probably means 'devotee of Māheśvara (Śiva).[5] It is also interesting to note that Vima has been shown on his coins invariably with a trident, a battle-axe, a goad and a club (appearing more like a *mudgara*),[6] all of which have been the

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1. Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, p. 15, fig. 7.
2. According to D. C. Sircar, Kujula was probably a Buddhist. See, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Bombay, 1953 (Reprint), p. 140.
3. Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar, *Coins and Icons* as study of myths and symbols in Indian numismatic art, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 207-08.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 212; Smith, V., *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1897, p. 300.
5. Sircar, D. C., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 140 : The legend on Vima's coins reads : '*maharajasa rajadirajasa sarva-loga-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima Kathphiśasa tratarasa*' which means of Vima Kathphiśa the great king, the king of kings, the lord of whole world, the Mahiśvara.
6. Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, Pl. II, Fig. 19, 22, 25, 29.

principal attributes of Śiva on Kushāṇa coins. However, goad and club are confined to the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. The body of Śiva on his coins is well-proportioned and muscular.

Śiva has been named as 'Oesho' on the coins of Kanishka, which, however, has been adopted as an appellation of Śiva by all the subsequent Kushāṇa rulers. The legend 'Oesho' may have originated from the Prākṛt 'Haveśa' or the Sanskrit 'Bhaveśa' which means the lord of Being, an epithet of Śiva.[1] The word OESHO's etymology appears to be more likely in Sanskrit Īśa.

Śiva finds representation on the coins of Vima both in aniconic and human forms. The rendering of Śiva in aniconic form assumes special importance since after Vima Śiva has not been represented in aniconic form on the Kushāṇa coins. The symbols expressing Śiva on these coins are trident-cum-battleaxe, club and *ḍamarū*. The club and *ḍamarū*, attached to the trident-cum-battleaxe respectively at its side and on the base, suggest the importance of trident-cum-battleaxe which was the chief distinguishing attribute of Śiva on the Kushāṇa coins, shown either as a trident-cum-battleaxe[2] or a trident (**Pl. VIII. 3**). Close to the trident-cum-battleaxe, on the right is shown the *Nandipada*, a Śaiva symbol while on the corresponding left is usual Kushāṇa insignia.[3]

Śiva in human form on these coins is two-armed. He is invariably shown as standing frontally in *ābhaṅga* with face turned to his right (**Pl. VIII. 4**). However, in one case Śiva stands to front facing the observer.[4] One of the legs of Śiva is put slightly forward to suggest the mobility and movement of the deity. He is mostly carved with his bull mount. Excepting a coin where Śiva is said to have been polycephalous, he is always one-faced and bears invariably trident-cum-battleaxe, sometimes only a trident in his right hand and a water-vessel or a gourd, in the left. The flames emanating from the head of Śiva, however, suggest his terrific aspect.[1] Śiva, barring a few coins where he is nude (**Pl. VIII. 5**) and *ūrdhvaliṅga* (ithyphallic) (**Pl. VIII. 6**),[2] always wears a long robe covering the entire body from the shoulder to the ankles. The robe shows folds reminding of the *saṅghāṭī* worn by Buddha in Gandhāra sculptures. It may be remarked here that the Kushāṇa sculptures from Mathura also portray Śiva as *ūrdhvaliṅga*, but only in the form of Ardhanārīśvara or when shown with consort Pārvatī. The *ūrdhvaliṅga* depictions of Śiva in contemporary sculpture, unlike as on coins in question, do not go without a loin-cloth.[3] A tiger-skin is shown hanging from the left forearm of Śiva on majority of the coins (**Pl. VIII. 7**),[4] Śiva wears in some cases sacred-thread,[5] and has sometimes moustaches (**Pl. VIII. 8**).[6] The treatment of hair shows a rich variety. The hair is either arranged in the form of twisted locks or as tall head dress (*ushṇīsha*) with lateral strands hanging over the shoulders.[7] However, the most popular variety has been matted-hair (*jaṭā*) with lateral strands. Śiva is decked with necklace and armlets.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[2] However, in sculptural representation, we rarely come across the rendering of trident-cum-battleaxe in the hand of Śiva. The trident and battleaxe, however, are usually shown separately in two hands. See, Sivaramamurti, C., *Ancient India*, No. 6. January (1950) PL. XIX. B.

[3] See, Cunningham A., *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Śakas and Kushāṇas*, Delhi, 1971 (Rep.) p. 31, Pl. XV, 8; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 68, Pl. XI, 6; Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, Pl. II, 28, Pl. VIII, 157.

[4] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, Pl. II, 29. However, this posture is most common with the copper coins

The figures of Śiva on these coins may be grouped into three forms namely, one-faced with bull, one-faced without bull and polycephalic.

Śiva in majority of coins stands with his traditional *vāhana*, bull. The well-built and stout figure of bull is always humped with its legs suggesting movement (**Pl. VIII. 9**). It always stands behind Śiva and faces to the left. Śiva holds a trident in the right hand while the left rests on the bull. However, in a few cases trident-cum-battleaxe in the right hand and water-vessel in the left have also been noticed.[1]

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[1] It may be recalled that during the subsequent period flames are shown in the hand of Śiva as one of his attributes. The Naṭarāja figures from South India invariably bear flames in one hand.

[2] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, Pl. II, fig. 22, Pl. I, fig. 18, Pl. VIII, fig. 156.

[3] Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 269.

[4] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, figs. 18, 22, 24, 25.

[5] *Ibid.*, fig. 23.

[6] *Ibid.*, Pl. II, figs. 20, 21, 22, 24.

[7] Wood, A. A. III, *The Gold Coin type of the Great Kushāṇas*, Numismatic Notes & Monographs, No. 9, 1959, Pl. I, fiig. 2, Pl. XXV, fig. 7; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 68, Pl. XI, L; Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, fig 18, 22, 29. However, the identical representation of hair, arranged in flattened manner in *jaṭā* fashion (appearing like wig), can be noticed in the Guḍimallam Śiva-*liṅga* (c. 1st century BC).

The second variety showing Śiva without bull is comparatively less plentiful. The main attributes held by Śiva in this variety are trident-cūm-battleaxe and a water-vessel shown respectively in the right and left hands (**Pl. VIII. 5**).[2] On a few specimens Śiva sometimes bears a gourd in the left hand.[3] It is only in this variety that Śiva is portrayed as nude and ithyphallic.

On a copper coin of Vima reproduced by Cunningham,[4] J. N. Banerjea[5] finds the possibility of Śiva being polycephalous. But on examining the coin, we find that Śiva is one-faced. The coin under discussion is comparable to another coin of Vima reproduced by Rosenfield[6] which, however, shows the *jaṭā* drooping over the soulders; Banerjea may have mistaken the protruding hairlocks as heads. It may also be remembered that the polycephalous form of Śiva is not represented on coins before Huvishka.

The coins of Kanishka are of special importance from the viewpoint of the representations of various Indian and foreign deities and their varied iconographic forms. Kanishka was staunch follower of Buddhism but Śiva continues to occupy important position on his coins. The coins of Kanishka delineate further advancement in the iconography of Śiva, not known from the contemporary sculptures. However, some of the important points in respect of the iconography of Śiva are as under :

(1) A halo indicated by a circle, appears for the first time.

(2) The treatment of hair arranged in *jaṭā* fashion with a top-knot (*ushṇīsha*) shows uniformity of style.

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[1] Rosenfield, J.M., *op. cit.*, Pl. II, figs 21, 27; Cunningham, A, *op. cit.* p. 32, Pl. XV, fiig. 10.

[2] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, figs. 18, 22, 25, 156; Wood, A. A., *op. cit.*, Pl. I, fig. 2.

[3] Whitehead, R. B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I. Varanasi, 1971 (Rep.), p. 183, Pl. XVII, fig. 32.

[4] Cunningham, A, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV, fig 11. However, Cunningham has described the deity simply as Śiva.

[5] Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[6] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, fig. 29.

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(3) Śiva wears a lower garment, a *dhotī*, extended down to a little below the knees with schematic and heavy ridges marking the folds.

(4) Śiva is shown in two varieties of forms, namely, the two-armed and the four-armed, with varying attributes.

(5) The representation of bull mount, a recurring feature noticed on the coins of Vima, becomes a rare phenomenon with the coins of Kanishka. Barring a few specimens of copper coins where Śiva is portrayed with bull,[1] the mount is conspicuous by its absence.

(6) The aniconic representation of Śiva disappears and he is never shown as sky-clad or ithyphallic.

(7) Śiva always holds a trident in his left hand, instead of trident-cum-battleaxe held in the right hand as on the coins of Vima. The trident here is always held diagonally, whereas on the coins of Vima it was always shown perpendicularly.

Śiva on the coins of Kanishka, always stands frontally in *dvibhaṅga* with his face turned to right. He stands with one of his legs being shown slightly forward to suggest mobility. The disposition of legs readily reminds one of the portrait of Kanishka on the Kushāṇa coins and in sculptures. He wears *rudrāksha*, armlets, bracelets and anklets, all of them being made of beads.[2] Śiva, two-armed or four-armed, is invariably one-faced.

The trident and the water-vessel continue to be the most favoured attributes, but water-vessel here is shown in one of the outstretched hands, usually the lower right hand, and turned downwards so as to suggest the pouring act.[3] Besides, *ḍamarū*, antelope, *vajra* and *aṅkuśa* are also provided frequently in the hands of Śiva (**Pl. VIII. 10-11**).[4] Sometimes, gourd, noose and club are also shown. On a specimen, illustrated by Rosenfield, Śiva is shown feeding leaves to a goat (**Pl. VIII. 12**).[1] However, it may be remarked that such a variety as to the attributes does not appear in sculptural manifestations until the early mediaeval period (c. 7th-8th century AD). Even in fully developed forms in sculptures, the rendering of *aṅkuśa*, *vajra* and noose are rarely met with. The antelope, however, becomes an invariable attribute of Śiva in the sculptures of South India.

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[1] Whitehead, R. B., *op. cit.*, p. 192, Pl. XVIII, fig. 106.

[2] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, Pl. II, figs. 34, 37; Pl, VIII, figs. 158, 160; Wood, A. A. *op. cit.*, p. 9, *BMCIS*, Pl. XVIII, fig, 1,

[3] This has been a typical way of showing water-vessel without any parallel in Indian sculptures.

[4] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, p. 92, Pl. II, fiigs. 34, 37, Pl. XIII, figs. 158-60; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 71, Pl. XI, fig. 9.

There are only a few specimens where Śiva has been portrayed with two arms. The two-armed Śiva usually holds a trident in the right hand and a gourd in the left. Sometimes, trident is replaced by a spear or a staff,[2] and the left hand is shown holding a club.[3]

The four-armed Śiva mostly bears a *ḍamarū* (in upper right), a water-vessel (in lower right),[4] a trident (in upper left) and an antelope (in lower left). It may be remarked that all these attributes, including flames, shown on the coins of Vima as emanating from the head, become the distinguishing attributes of Śiva in mediaeval sculptures (7th to 12th century AD), especially those coming from South India. Sometimes, *ḍamarū* is replaced by *vajra*,[5] and the upper left hand is free.[6] On some specimens Śiva also holds noose in one of the right hands, while his lower left hand is shown either dangling or resting on thigh.[7] Sometimes, Śiva carries gourd along with a water-vessel, which, indeed, is remarkable since the rendering of two different attributes in one hand is a rare feature.[8]

The coins of Huvishka are the most important ones from the standpoint of Śiva iconography. On his coins, Śiva stands and possesses two or four arms. Śiva stands in the manner as noticed on the coins of Kanishka, but with more flexion in body, giving curvilinear and graceful appearance, which is comparable to the Gupta sculptures of fifth century AD from Mathurā and Sārnāth.[1] Śiva, usually wearing a short *dhotī* with schematic ridges, stands facing to his right, except for an example where ithyphallic Śiva stands frontally and wears a short garment (*ardhajaṅghikā*) (**Pl. VIII. 13**).[2] The bull is conspicuous by its absence on these coins. The hair is disposed in *jaṭā* fashion, sometimes showing an *ushṇīsha* also. Śiva, provided with a halo,[3] wears a necklet made of *rudrāksha* and *yajñopavīta*,[4] besides other usual ornaments (**Pl. VIII. 13-14**). He bears such attributes which were previously shown on the coins of Kanishka and Vima, they are trident, water-vessel, antelope and *ḍamarū*.

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[1] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit*,, Pl. II, fig. 37.

[2] Whitehead, R. B., *op. cit.*, p. 192, Pl. XVIII, fig. 106; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 75; Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[3] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[4] In some instances water-vessel is held in lower left hand. See, Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[5] Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 122; Singh, O. P., *Religion and Iconography on Early Indian Coins*, Varanasi, 1978, p. 45.

[6] Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Smith, V., *op. cit.*, p. 70; Singh, O. P., *op. cit*, p. 45.

[7] Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar, *op. cit.*, p. 213; Singh, O. P., *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[8] Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 123; Wood, A. A., *op. cit.*, p. 9.

A few important points as to the iconography of Śiva on the coins of Huvishka are underlined hereunder :

(1) Śiva, provided with a crescent overhead, holds some additional attributes, the most important wheel and *vajra*.

(2) A few coins show Śiva as three-faced, who is sometimes accompanied by consort UMĀ, inscribed as 'OMMO' and 'NANĀ' (or Nanaia) on the coins.

Śiva on these coins may be classified into three forms, namely, one-faced, three-faced and Śiva with Umā.[5]

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[1] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.* figs. 164, 166; Malandra, G. H., 'Transitional Style in the Śiva Images on Kuṣāṇa Gold Coins', *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes*, No. 26 (1981), p. 199.

[2] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, fig. 163.

[3] However, the three-faced figures of Śiva do not show halo.

[4] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, figs. 161, 162, 164, 166.

[5] However, the two copper coins of Huvishka, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, (Smith, V., *op. cit.*, Pl. X, fig. 8) show an archer standing to right with a long bow. The inscription in old Brāhmī gives the name of 'Gaṇeśa', who has been identified by J. N. Banerjea as Śiva (*op. cit.*, pp. 125-26). Although Śiva is called Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati in early literature but as Gaṇeśa he is not provided with a bow. He is Pināka-pāṇi only when conceived of as the Hunter, *Lubdhaka* or *Mrigavyādha*. (See, Agrawala, V. S., *Śiva Mahādeva*, Varanasi, 1966, p. 4). Therefore the identification of the figure with Śiva is not acceptable. It is indeed surprising not to find any of the traditional features of Śiva on these coins.

The two-armed figures, less in number, show Śiva always with one face and holding a trident in the right hand and a water-vessel (or a gourd or a spear) in the left hand.[1] However, on one of the coins in the British Museum, Śiva also bears a fish in the right and a trident (or a spear) in the left.[2] The four-armed Śiva is portrayed both with one and three faces. One-faced Śiva invariably holds a *ḍamarū* and a long trident in right and left upper arms, while the lower ones show a water-vessel (pouring) and an antelope. The attributes remind us of the coins of Kanishka. In a few specimens, *ḍamarū* and water-vessel are replaced by any two of the following attributes, namely, gourd, thunderbolt, mace and wreath.[3] Sometimes, water-vessel and antelope are substituted by noose and gourd.[4] The rendering of wheel, *vajra* and mace was, however, confined to the three-faced figures (**Pl. VIII. 14-15**).[5]

The appearance of Śiva with three faces marks a significant development which manifests Him as Mahādeva, the Great God. The three-faced Śiva is always four-armed. Śiva is undoubtedly one of the most prominent members of the Brahmanical Trinity being entrusted with the aspect of destruction (*saṁhāra*) of the universe. The other two members of the Brahmanical Trinity, Brahmā and Vishṇu, act respectively as the creator and preserver. In some epic passages Śiva is described as creating the creator and consequently upon this Brahmā praises the greatness of Śiva and reveals great power of Mahādeva to Indra. The Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman-Vishṇuvardhan (AD 532) refers to Brahmā as creator, preserver and destroyer but in all these acts Svayambhū is employed by Śambhu (Śiva). Śiva is also described as '*bhavasṛj*' i.e. the creator of the universe.[6] These references take us to the Vedic and later Vedic times when Śiva has been identified with Rudra, the Vedic counterpart of Śiva. He has been variously named as Śiva, Rudra-Śiva, Mahādeva, Maheśvara and Īśāna in early literature. The three faces probably represent three different aspects of Śiva himself as Creator, Preserver and Destroyer.

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[1] Whitehead, R. B., *op. cit.*, p. 199, Pl. XIX, figs. 150-52; Smith, V., *op. cit.*, p. 81, 43. However, Bhaskar Chattopadhyay and O. P. Singh do not make any reference to the two-armed figure.

[2] Wood, A. A., *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[3] Smith, V., *op. cit.*, p. 78, figs. 82-83; Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 66, Pl. XXIII, fig. 5.

[4] Whitehead, R. B., *op cit*, p. 203, Pl. XIX, fig. 182.

[5] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, figs. 163, 164.

[6] Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, pp. 446, 512-13; Diskalkar, D. B., *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 84, Inscription No. 7, Verses 2-3.

The three-faced Śiva holds a *vajra* and a trident in two upper hands, while the lower ones hold a water-vessel and a mace (**Pl. VIII. 15**).[1] On a specimen, thunderbolt is replaced by a *ḍamarū*.[2] A unique coin, showing Śiva as ithyphallic and wearing a short garment, depicts him with a wheel (seven-spoked) and a trident in the upper right and left hands while the lower ones hold an antelope and a *ḍamarū* (**Pl. VIII. 13**).[3] J.N. Banerjea has remarked that the presence of *chakra* shows the beginning of the interesting composite icon of Hari-Hara of subsequent days.[4] We would like to remark in this connection that the presence of seven-spoked wheel does not suggest the composite form of Vishṇu. Had the wheel been meant for disc of Vishṇu, it ought to have been shown in the left hand, instead of being in the right. The wheel here, probably, represents Sūrya, especially in view of the wheel being seven-spoked, thus signifying the seven horses, suggesting seven colours, an invariable feature with Sūrya. In *Ṛg-Vedic* hymns Sūrya is conceived of as moving on a car drawn by one, by several or by seven fleet and ruddy horses.[5] Sūrya, a popular deity from the Vedic times, has also been referred to as Vishṇu. He was represented in early Indian art by a number of symbols, the most important of them were wheel and lotus.[6] Sūrya is also conceived as an exemplar of Naṭarāja Śiva. The sun is the visible form of Rudra-Śiva and his rhythmic movement of radiation is the dance of Śiva. Sūrya is described as the symbol of Brahman who is the Great God Śiva himself.[7]

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[1] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, fig. 164; Smith, V., *op. cit.*, p. 78, Pl. XII, fig. 14.

[2] Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 66, Pl. XXIII, fig. 4.

[3] Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 66, Pl. XXIII, fig. 5; Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 123; Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, p. 92, fig. 163.

[4] Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 429.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 432; A. K. Coomaraswamy has remarked that the wheel, which later on becomes the mark of a *Chakravartin,* the discus of Vishṇu and the Buddhist wheel of law, originally represented the Sun. See, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Delhi, 1972 (rep.), p. 41.

[7] Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 43.

On a few specimens, Śiva is accompanied by his consort, called either Ommo or Nanā, identified with Umā.[1] These coins reveal how early the doctrine of Śakti appeared in visual arts which is the embodiment as a female form of the 'energy' of divinity. A similar pairing can be noticed in respect of Hāritī-Ardoxsho with Pañchika-Pharro in Gandhāran sculpture.[2] The rendering of Śiva with Umā (Pārvatī) was popular in contemporary plastic art but there Umā has always been shown standing close to Śiva on left,[3] and Śiva is ithyphallic. But here on our coins, Śiva wears usual *dhotī* and Ommo or Nanā always stands to his right. The four-armed Śiva holds a water-vessel and a *damarū* in his lower and upper right hands, whereas the corresponding ones on the left show an antelope and a trident.[4] Ommo or Nanā, always two-armed and standing, facing Śiva, bears respectively a flower and a scepter (topped by a horse-head) in one of the hands.[5]

The representation of Śiva continues uninterrupted on the coins of Vāsudeva I.[6] Śiva, one-faced or three-faced, is invariably two-armed, excepting for two coins where he is four-armed (**Pl. VIII. 16**).[7] The coins reveal that Vāsudeva revived the earlier tradition of representing Śiva with two arms and accompanied by a bull (an invariable feature on the coins of Vima) on the one hand while also followed the prevailing tradition of showing Śiva with three faces, sometimes four-armed as well, on the other. The oval-faced Śiva with well-formed muscular body, indicating Gandhāra influence, mostly stands in *dvibhaṅga*, facing the observer. The posture of Śiva is natural, suggesting mobility. He wears a *dhotī* with prominent folds.[8] Śiva here does not recline on his *vāhana* bull, as was the case with Vima's coins. The humped bull portrayed with great artistic skill,

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1. Banerjea, J. N. *op. cit.*, pp. 126-27; Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95.
2. Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, p. 94.
3. Agrawala, V. S., *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 269; Joshi, N. P., *op. cit.*, p. 33.
4. Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, fig. 166; Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
5. Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, figs. 165, 166; Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, pp. 126-27; Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 213.
6. The number of deities on coins suddenly decreased from the time of Vāsudeva I. See, Mukherjee, B. N., *op. cit.*, p. 27.
7. Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, fig. 210; Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 74, Pl. XXIV, fig. 9.
8. Mukherjee, B. N., *op. cit.*, p. 29.

invariably stands to left, excepting for a coin where it stands to right. However, the bull on a specimen is beautifully shown as bowing at the feet of his Lord.[1] The number of attributes, however, decreased with the number of arms. The representation of Śiva with three faces[2] gained more favour but Ommo and Nanā disappeared. Śiva, with a halo[3] and *yajñopavīta*, has his hair done in *jaṭā* fashion with lateral strands and *ushṇīsha*.[4] Śiva on these coins may be classified into two groups, namely, two-armed and four-armed.

The two-armed Śiva, accompanied by a bull, has either one or three faces.[5] He holds invariably a long trident in the left hand and a noose in the right (**Pl. VIII. 17**).[6] However, in one case he holds a wreath in place of a noose (**Pl. VIII. 18**).[7] It has rightly been observed that the two-armed and one-faced form of Śiva on the coins of Vāsudeva served as the prototype of the devices on some of the later Kushāṇa coins and also the Kushāno-Sassanian rulers.[8]

The four-armed Śiva, accompanied by a bull with a bell in the neck, holds a lotus and a noose in lower and upper right hands, while the corresponding left ones carry a tiger-skin and a trident (**Pl. VIII. 16**).[9]

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[1] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, fig. 209, 210.

[2] Whitehead in his book (p. 208) has wrongly described the figure of Śiva on a coin of Vāsudeva (published by Cunningham) as possessing five heads, *Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1892, Pl. XIV, fig. 9, British Museum. Another such coin is published by Ajit Gosh in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numismatic Supplement; No. XLV, 1934, p. 107 under the title, 'Three rare Kushāṇa Gold coins'.

[3] However, the halo is always absent with three-faced Śiva and sometimes with one-faced also. See, Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, figs. 206-208, 210, 211. [However, the nimbus with three-headed Śiva may be seen on a gold coin of Huvishka, see Gardner, P., *BMC*, Pl. XXVIII, 16 O. P. S.].

[4] In case of three-faced figures only the central head has been provided with an *ushṇīsha*, with an exception showing *ushṇīsha* with all the heads. Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, fig. 210.

[5] On two specimens, bull is conspicuous by its absence. Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, figs. 211, 212.

[6] J. N. Banerjea, (*op. cit.*, pp. 127-28) has rightly underlined the intimate association of noose (*pāśa*) with Śiva, who as Rudra-Śiva is conceived as a binder and a loosener of individual souls.

[7] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[8] Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[9] Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, p. 107, fig. 210. It may be remarked that the lotus appears for the first time with Śiva.

The coins of the later Kushāṇas lack in number of deities and their iconopgraphic forms. Śiva, Nanā and Ardoxsho only find representation on these coins.[1] Śiva appears in one form. The two-armed Śiva, invariably shown with one face and standing to front with bull, holds a noose in the right hand and a trident in the left. The figures are crude and very much stylized.

We would now refer to a gold coin of the later Kushāṇa ruler, Kanishko, now in the Punjab Museum. Whitehead, in his description, writes that the two-armed Śiva with bull carries a noose in right hand and a long trident in the left. The legend reads *Oesho* (OHPO).[2] O. P. Singh finds several such features on this coin which tempt him to remark that an attempt was made here to represent an Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva.[3] He writes that the left side has a round, well-developed breast in contrast to the right. The deity wears a necklace and the right half of the chest shows *yajñopavīta*. He also finds left leg released slightly in easy manner, and covered upto the calf with folds, possibly of *sārī*, which, according to him, suggests that the leg is that of a woman.[4] However, the present identification is not acceptable in as much as the emphasis on the left breast here is not significant because it was not intentional.[5] Śiva here shows identical features as noticed on the coins of Vāsudeva I and the later Kushāṇas. The two-armed Śiva stands with a bull and holds a noose and a trident in his right and left hands. Had the artist intended to show Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva, there ought

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-10; Mukherjee, B. N., *op. cit.*, p. 27; Malandra, G. H., *op. cit.*, p. 201.
2. Whitehead, R. B. *op. cit.*, p. 211 Pl. XIX, fig. 231.
3. The form was indeed one of the most majestic forms of Śiva with deep spiritual meaning. The union of Śiva-Pārvatī in the form of Ardhanārīśvara, not only suggests the union of male and female, the cause of creation in the world, but also underlines the union of the principal cult deities of Śaivism and Śaktism.
4. Singh. O. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 48-51.
5. Prof. Joe Cribb, the Keeper of the dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum London, in his personal communication has expressed his agreement with us. He writes that he does not agree with any suggestion that the coin shows a female breast on the Śiva figure. He feels that the emphasis of the left breast is because of poor engraving. He takes the figure to be a usual image of Śiva on late Kushāṇa coins.

to have been at least any of the attributes, like lotus, mirror, parrot or even scepter (as with Nanā) in the left hand, suggesting thereby the presence of Umā or Pārvatī. Besides, the legend *'Oesho'* is inscribed as usual on the left which in the event of figure being Ardhanārīśvara must have been on the right and the left might have shown at least the name of Ommo or Nanā. The artist could have also given the name 'Ardhanārīśvara. It is not proper to say that mint master was not aware of the iconographic tradition regarding Ardhanārīśvara, especially in view of the representation of Śiva with the traditional features on Kushāṇa coins, sometimes with Umā also, besides the rendering of Ardhanārīśvara in contemporary plastic art. We may also note that the Ardhanārīśvara Śiva in Kushāṇa sculptures is represented ithyphallic, whereas the present coin does not bear any such feature. We find that both the breasts are pronounced with the left side being somewhat more developed. This might be just because of the poor engraving and we have come across a few other similar later Kushāṇa coins where left breast is shown comparatively somewhat developed.[1] These coins also do not show any such features which might help us to identify the figure as Ardhanārīśvara. It may also be mentioned, in passing, that there was a tendency to show Śiva in exaggerated muscular form which was expressed through pronounced breasts and jutted hips.[2]

As regards drapery, necklet and the mode of showing the left leg, kept slightly in a relaxed manner, it would suffice to note that it was a general practice on the Kushāṇa coins, which could easily be discerned on a number of other coins as well. We do not also find any difference in disposition of hair and *dhotī* on right and left. The *yajñopavīta*, however, is not discernible and, moreover, that has nothing to do with the present identification. We, therefore, dispute the identification by O.P. Singh until any conclusive evidence to that effect is encountered. The figure on the coin under discussion should be straightaway identified as Śiva.

On the basis of present study, it appears that Siva undoubtedly enjoyed the most favoured position among all the deities appearing on the Kushāṇa coins. The rich iconography of Śiva suggests that the cult of Śiva was one of the most flourishing cults during the Kushāṇa period, a fact reinforced by sculptural examples also. The Kushāṇa rulers not only patronised Śaivism but also made significant contribution towards the visual representation of Śiva by introducing a number of traditional features, which, however, culminated in the rendering of Śiva with three faces and four arms with wide-ranging attributes, sometimes accompanied by Umā also. Śiva is represented with bull and a trident or trident-cum-battleaxe right from the coins of Vima, where he is, sometimes, ithyphallic also. On the coins of Kanishka, Śiva appears with four arms and holds, besides trident, additional attributes, such as *ḍamarū*, antelope and water-vessel. He is provided with *rudrāksha*, halo and *ushṇīsha* but his bull mount is absent. On Huvishka's coins we come across some significant development with Śiva being three-faced and holding the attributes like, *vajra*, mace,wheel, in addition to the earlier ones. On a few specimens he is portrayed with his consort, Umā, also, but his mount is not to be seen. The coins of Vāsudeva I show that the earlier tradition of two-armed Śiva was revived but here in most examples Śiva is three-faced. The iconographic form of two-armed Śiva holding noose and trident and accompanied by a bull, was standardized at this stage which was adopted on the coins of later Kushāṇa rulers wherein the form of three-faced Śiva was, however, abandoned.

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[1] Rosenfield, J. M. *op. cit.* figs. 233, 242.

[2] *Ibid*, Pl. X-XII; Malandra, G. H. *op. cit.*, p. 198.

Development of Śiva's icon on the Kushāṇa coins shows ambivalence in respect of keeping strictly to iconographic tradition. On one hand is the bias for such traditional features as bull, trident (or trident-cum-battleaxe), *ḍamarū* and antelope along with *ushṇīsha*, *jaṭā*, crescent and *rudrāksha*. The form of Śiva with three-faces is also a traditional feature which manifests Śiva as Mahādeva. On the other hand it also reveals a syncretic character as shown by the representation of *vajra*, wheel, mace, water-vessel, noose, goad and lotus which are usually not known in literature and art.[1] The above features undoubtedly suggest the bearing of Brahmā (water-vessel), Vishṇu (club, lotus), Sūrya (wheel), Indra (*vajra* and goad) and Yama (noose or *pāśa*) on the icon of Śiva. The representation of Śiva with these features, and particularly with three faces, perhaps shows that Śiva was conceived as Mahādeva,[1] the great god, and hence the distinguishing features of different deities were amalgamated in one god called Oesho on Kushāṇa coins.[2]

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[1] Chattopadhyay, Bhaskar, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-15.

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[1] Mahādeva, named as Rudra and Śiva in Indian tradition, is identifiable with *Agni*, hence flames emanate from his head; with Indra, hence goad and *vajra*; with Sūrya and Brahman (or Brahmā or Prajāpati), hence seven-spoked wheel and water-vessel respectively; with Yama who enforces bond on and bestows deliverance on souls, hence *pāśa*; with Lubdhaka or *Mṛgavyādha* (hunter) and Paśupati (Lord of all creatures), hence antelope, goat and tiger-skin; and with Aparājita Rudra representing the power of Vishṇu, hence mace and lotus. It is further interesting to find a passage in the Ṛg-Veda where the Bull (*Vṛshabha*) is named as Indra or Agni or Sūrya. The great bull or Nandī is the vehicle of Śiva who thus as Mahādeva has command over all these deities. (For details consult, Agrawala, V. S., *Śiva Mahādeva*, pp. 1-3, 8, 16, 32).

[2] Rosenfield also favours the syncretic character but he is inclined to suggest that some of these features were borrowed from foreign deities, namely, Herakles (club, tiger-skin) and Poseidon (trident). See, Rosenfield, J. M., *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94. Since the Kushāṇa rulers and artists were familiar with the Indian tradition, therefore, it would not be proper to find their source from outside India.

THE RHINOCEROS-SLAYER TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

A.N. SINGH

In *JNSI*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. I, 1981, pp. 67ff. a note on the rhinoceros-slayer type gold coins of Kumāragupta I is published. The author of this note has suggested that Kumāragupta was in occupation of Assam which indirectly suggests that the issue of this type by the king refers to his conquest or re-conquest of the Assam region. Earlier M.M. Nagar[1] suggested, for the first time that Assam was included in the vast kingdom of Kumāragupta I where he hunted these animals. Elsewhere the author suggests in the same note that Kumāragupta's kingdom included both Kathiawar and Assam and he may have visited these parts of his empire to hunt lions and rhinoceroses and later he commemorated these expeditions through the issue of his coins.

Nagar was supported by P.J. Chinmulgund.[2] The view that these coins refer to the conquests of Kumāragupta and other Gupta kings later came to be criticised by some schoars.[3] We however feel that there is no reason to deduce any political or military conclusions from these coin-types of Kumaragupta. S.V. Sohani[4] has also discussed the rhinoceros slayer type and concluded that Kumāragupta is represented here as *Śṛiṅgaharttā.* A cup made up of rhino horn was required at the *Śrāddha* ceremony to offer libations. Thus Sohoni believed that the type has a religious significance. This view again has been examined at length[5] and it is pointed out that the type is a *mṛigaya* or hunting type. In yet anther paper[6] on the Mṛigayā type it is suggested that these coins indicate the love of these kings for the big game and nothing more.

The question as to where Kumāragupta hunted these animals is also discussed in these papers. Sohoni held that these were hunted in the

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[1] *JNSI* XI, Pt. I, 1949, p. 8.

[2] *Ibid*, XVII. Pt, II, pp. 105-06.

[3] *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 152 ff.

[4] *Ibid*, XVIII, pt. II, p. 178 ff.

[5] *Ibid*, XXV, pt. II, p. 29 ff.

[6] *Ibid*, XXIV, p. 152 ff.

Chaitwan area of Nepal, close to Vaiśālī. This was more convinient for Kumarāgupta than the distant region of Assam. In the paper on the Mṛigayā types of the Gupta's it is suggested that the Guptas maintained forest preserves near their capital and hunted wild animals in them. This inference has been made on the basis of textual evidence.

The present habitat of the rhino need not be taken to show that Kumāragupta went to a particular region to hunt these animals. S. H. Prater[1] suggests that formerly 'the rhino was extensively distributed in the Indian peninsula'. D. C. Sircar also suggests on the authority of Al-Biruni that "the gaṇḍā exists in large numbers in India, more particularly about the Ganges". If the rhino was available in the valley of the Gaṅgā during the time of Al-Biruni it must have been available in this region during the Gupta period as well. Therefore, the rhinoceros-slayer type can not be associated with the conquest or reconquest of Assam by Kumāragupta I.

Besides, there is no other evidence to suggest Kumarāgupta's rule over the valley of the Brahmaputra. There is only one specific mention of Assam in the Allahabad pillar inscription which refers to Samataṭa, Ḍavāka and Kāmarūpa as frontier kingdoms. The inclusion of Samataṭa in the list of frontier kingdoms suggests that even the whole of Bengal was not included in Samudragupta's kingdom.

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1. *The Book of Indian Animals*, p. 191 ff.
2. *JNSI*, XXVIII, pt. II, pp. 211-13.

THE REPOUSSE PIECES OF MAHENDRĀDITYA ETC.

S. V. SOHONI

These gold *repousse* pieces have been found or can be traced to the Chhatisgarh region in Madhya Pradesh and adjoining areas.[1]

(1) There is one piece of Mahendrāditya in Lukhnow Museum; (find spot unknown).

(2) A hoard of 54 pieces of Mahendrāditya was discovered at Khairtal in Raipur district, in Madhya Pradesh.

(3) A stray piece of Mahendrāditya was found in the old fort at Madanpur-Rampur in Kalahandi district in Orissa.

(4) A hoard discovered in village Bhandara of district Chandrapur in Maharashtra contained 14 pieces of Prasannamātra along with one piece of Mahendrāditya.

(5) A hoard discovered in Pitai bandh, district Raipur in Madhya Pradesh, contained 46 pieces of Mahendrāditya and three pieces of Kramāditya.

(6) A hoard of 32 pieces carrying names of kings of Nala dynasty was found in village Edenga in Bastar district.

(7) A hoard of 47 pieces of Prasannamātra was discovered in village Barhampur, in Cuttack district, Orissa.

(8) A hoard consisting of at least 33 pieces was found in village Kulia, Durg district (25 of Mahendrāditya and 5 of Nala kings, including two new rulers, Nandarāja and Stambha).[2]

All these pieces are of gold, struck *repousse*; and for that reason, are blank on the reverse. The gold content varies between 16 and 25 grains. Apparently, three goups can be distinguished : (i) Bearing the legend, 'Śrī Mahendrāditya'; (ii) With the legend, 'Śri Prasannamātra'; and (iii) Carrying the names of either Varāharāja or Bhavadatta or

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1. *JNSI*, Vol. XIV p. 215.
2. *Prāchya Pratibhā*, Vol. V p. 69.

Arthapati—all three being names of rulers of the Nala dynasty assciated with Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh. Prasannamātra is known from his copper plate grants and seals. He was a ruler with headquarters at Sarabhapura in South Kosala. The identity of Mahendrāditya does not yet appear to have been established finally.

2. The Mahendrāditya pieces may be further detailed. Dr. A. S. Altekar noted as follows[1]: "Within dotted border, in the half, Garuḍa with outstretched wings; *chakra* surmounted by crescent on and *śankha* on r. Below in the lower half, legend, *Śrīmahendrāditya* with a solitary letter *U* below *ndrā* of Mahendrāditya. Cluster of dots behind this *U*."

A. S. Altekar further observed, "The nature and attribution of these pieces is shroued in mystery. It is not certain that they are coins. Such pieces were current only in South Kośala. Assuming that they were coins like the similar coins of the Nala dynasty, the question of their attribution is not easy to solve. V. P. Road and V. V. Mirashi maintain that these coins were issued by Kumāragupta or for Kumāragupta by rulers of a local dynasty ruling in Raipur. A. Ghosh has doubted the attribution of these coins to Kumāragupta I. Conclusive evidence is yet not forthcoming to settle the question, but I am inclined to think that these coins were not issued by the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I. It may be that Gupta era was occasionally used in South Kośala in some solitary records; but there is no sufficient evidence to show that the province was under Gupta rule. If such was the case, why should this type alone of the Gupta gold coinage be current in the province ? Why should not the Khairtal hoard have contained some Gupta gold coins of the common types like the Archer and the Horseman coins ? Gupta gold coin types were not confined to particular localities; why should coins of this type not be found in big hoards like Bayānā or Bharsar one ? It is most probable that coins of this type were issued by king Mahendrāditya of some local dynasty in South Kośala who borrowed the type from the coins of Prasannamātra. The discovery of a small hoard of 12 coins in the Chanda district of Madhya Pradesh in 1947, which contained 11 coins of king Prasannamātra along with one coin of Mahendrāditya would lend support to our view that Mahendrāditya and

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[1] *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 214-15.

Prasannamātra belonged to a local dynasty in South Kośala holding sway there in the 4th or the 6th century AD."

It is interesting that beginning with a doubt whether these pieces were at all units of currency i. e. coins, A. S. Altekar concluded that there were reasons to support his view that, "Mahendrāditya and Prasannamātra belonged to a local dynasty in South Kośala, holding sway there in the 5th or the 6th century AD."

3. If the 'Mahendrāditya' stamped pieces were, in some cases, found along with those stamped 'Prasannamātra', that would be good ground to hold that Mahendrāditya and Prasannamātra do not appear to have been removed from each other in point of time by a wide margin. It would also be reasonable to hold that because Prasannamātra is known, not only from such pieces stamped with that name, but also from copper-plate grants issued from Śarabhapura, Mahendrāditya's whereabouts should be, *prima facie*, searched in that very region, *viz*. South Kośala. The other point requiring investigation is whether he should be placed as having reigned before Prasannamātra did; and whether there was any reasonable inference possible from the coincident circumstances that a Gupta emperor *viz*. Kumāragupta I definitely had 'Mahendrāditya' as his *biruda*, on some of his coin types e.g. the *chhatra* type. We have also got independent information from a non-official inscription like the Supia pillar inscription, that Kumāragupta I had this *biruda*. Further, it would be necessary to examine whether this coincidence of the name borne by a local king of South Kośala with the *biruda* of a Gupta emperor had carried any political significance.

4. We shall take the last poind first, *viz*. the identity of a local ruler's name with a *biruda* of an imperial dynasty's ruler. In this context, it may be recalled that following Samudragupta's empire building, a king of Naraka dynasty in Kāmarūpa, bore the name Samudravarmā, and his queen, that of Samudragupta's empress, Dattādevi. Instances of such expression of feudal loyalty, devotion and admiration can be found in every age, including our own times. Accordingly, a question arises whether 'Śrī Mahendrāditya' of these repousse pieces was a feudatory of the Gupta Empire ? On this point, some firm and specific historical material can be cited as relevant evidence. According to Harishena's *praśasti* of Samudra-

gupta, a king of Kośala in Dakshiṇāpatha, had been first defeated and then re-instated by Samudragupta; and this king of Dakshiṇa Kośala carried the name, Mahendra. We may concede that it is easy transition from 'Mahendra' to 'Mahendrāditya', in a royal atmosphere. In these circumstances, a tentative conclusion can be drawn that the 'Śrī Mahendrāditya' pieces could be attributed to Mahendra of South Kośala, re-instated by Samudragupta, one generation ahead of Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya; and that indication of submission to Gupta authority was furnished on account of an explicit statement to that effect in Harisheṇa's *praśasti* and not because this local name had been suggested by an imperial *biruda* of a later successor of Samudragupta.

5. But one objection seems to destroy this logic. While there was, undoubtedly, a Mahendra in South Kośala, who might have procceded to call himself Mahendrāditya, there definitely was no Kramāditya stepping out as a local ruler in that region, whereas Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya are definitely successive *birudas* of a father and a son *viz.* Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, both of the imperial Gupta dynasty. In these circumstances, the balance of probability is that such pieces, though struck in South Kośala, bore names of these two Gupta emperors and not of any two local kings, irrespective of whether South Kośala was vassal state of the Gupta empire or not. All that this evidence boils down to, is that sufficient reason was found in South Kośala to stamp there names on such light gold pieces.

6. The Saugar University conducted archaeological excavations in the Chhattisgarh region and published a preliminary report[1] thereon, in 1978. Sealings of Mahārāja Mahendra, were, found at Malhār (16 kilometers South-West of Bilaspur), carrying the legend, '*Mahārāja Mahendra,*' in Gupta Brāhmī letters of the 4th century AD. Assuming that this Mahārāja Mahendra was the same ruler of Dakshiṇa Kośala, who was defeated and reinstated by Samudragupta, the fact that the sealings do not describe him as Mahendrāditya, is not devoid of significance. This may be yet another reason to sustain the inference that the Mahendrāditya *repousse* pieces did not point towards a local ruler, but helped to recall Kumārgupta I Mahendrāditya and that this Mahendra of South Kośala did not call himself Mahendrāditya.

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[1] *The Malhar Excovations*, 1978. A fuller report is awaited.

This directly means that the Mahendrāditya (as also the Kramāditya pieces) *repousse* work, though struck in South Kośala, did not show the local ruler's name on it; and at the same time, it is inexplicable why even on assuming that it had been struck at the initiative of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya, what could have prevented the Gupta emperor from getting similar pieces struck in at least a few more parts of his big empire.

7. At this stage, it may be worthwhile to raise the query whether these pieces were on par with the rest of the coinage of that period, or, even more broadly, whether these *repousse* pieces were at all coins or money. It was precisely this query with which A. S. Altekar had commenced his discussion of the Mahendrāditya *repousse* pices. His views would have been useful had he gone into it further. But this aspect of the problem was only mentioned by him in the passing and without discussing it. He seems to have held, ultimately, that these pieces belonged to a local currency. In other words, he did not think that they were not coins.

8. In what respects do such pieces not bear a resemblence to the coinage of that period ? The main points of dissimilarity are very clear: (i) they are extremely light, generally not exceeding 25 grains in weight or about $\frac{1}{8}$th of a standard coin's weight, and are too thin to stand any appreciable circulation; (ii) they are blank on the reverse; and (iii) the royal name is not accompanied by any word like Mahārāja etc. i.e. only bare names are mentioned, be they personal names or *birudas;* (iv) those who manufactured such pieces seem to be equally anxious to represent an appropriate deity with relevant symbols. This means that the religious character of the representation was fully brought into focus. (v) Finally, the method of manufacture was entirely different. The words, *repousse*, has been defined as, "Ornamental metal work, hammered into relief from reverse side, and is derived from the French, 'pousser', which means, to push. (Oxford Concise Dictionary).

This process of manufacture of such a gold piece is not confined to the Chhattisgarh region, then or at any time, before or after the Guptas. It is common activity of Indian goldsmiths all over the country. What they make there by is called, '*puttula*' in Bengali; and '*putaṭi*' in Marathi, its corresponding words in these and other languages of India being derived from Sanskrit, '*puttalikā*'. The *Śabdakalpadruma* defines, '*puttalikā*' as "*triṇakāshṭmṛdashmadhātuḥ-ratnādi-nirmita-pratimūrtiḥ*." In its masculine form, the word occurs as early as in the *Lankāvatāra sūtra* – '*puttalikam kvachit kanakābham*'—(*LS.* 112. 4, 10.81). It seems unnecessary to discuss its etymology further, beyond noting that the main idea was to obtain a replica, in this manner. In the *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakosha,* compiled nearly 50 years ago, it was stated about the word *pūtaṭi* that it was an ornamental gold piece, round and flat, generally strung into a necklace, and manufactured by being hammered on a block. It is worth noting that some of these *puttalikās* from Dakshiṇa Kośala were found to have two holes each for passing a thread in them to make a necklace. Such *puttalikās* were aslo represented on stone images and sculptures etc.

9. In these circumstances, it would be more correct to regard these *repousse* gold pieces as *puttalikās* and not units of currency. Of course, gold has always qualified for being held as the safest standard as well as store of value ; and this explains its prolonged use as material for coinage. A gold *puttalikā* can, in certain conditions, even act as a substitute for a gold coin. But it is equally clear that whereas a coin is always associated with a specific public administration minting it, the demand and supply of *puttalikā* pieces are related to altogether different considerations. A *puttalikā* is more of an ornament. The motive for its manufacture is purely commercial and not administrative. That is why a *puttalikā* could cross a political border more conveniently—as ornament on one's person, as distinguished from gold money.

10. The moment it is detected that after all, these *repousse* pieces are not exactly unique but blong to a category known all over India, a question arises, why are they discovered more frequently in this region than in other parts of our country. The answer has to be found in terms of the availibility of local gold. In the Geological Survey of India's Bulletin on "Gold Resources of India, 1974", it has been observed,[1] "The occurrence of gold in Madhya Pradesh is chiefly of placer origin, confined to the eastern part of the State." Even now the sand of some local rivers in the South Kośala region and adjoining areas, is washed for collecting minute quantities of gold by panning operations. It is submitted that the easiest form of keeping this gold was by making *puttalikās* out of it. This

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[1] At page 101 of the Bulletin.

also held good for similar gold found in the Baster area ; and further downstream the Mahānadi, after its entry into Orissa.

11. Through South Kośala, passed a network of ancient trade routes from North to South India and also from the Central into Eastern India. This position of local resources taken along with commercial facilities accounted for its economic prosperity. The *repousse* gold pieces or tokens were, really, its contemporary witnesses.

MEDIA OF EXCHANGE IN TRADE OF MID-EASTERN INDIA (c. AD 750-1200)

B. N. MUKHERJEE

The term "Mid-Eastern India" may geographically denote the territory of the Indian subcontinent now included in Bihar, West Bengal and Bangladesh. During the period ranging from c. AD 750 to 1200 the major portion of it was politically controlled first by the Pālas, then partly by them and the Senas and finally by the latter. Certain areas (like Tīrabhukti, Rāḍha, Vaṅga, Harikela, etc.) witnessed the rule of some other powers as well as the Pālas and Senas. The Pāla and Sena empires also witnessed invasions by outside powers and sometimes temporary loss of territories. However, the territory concerned or its greater portion was, on the whole, politically stable, under the broad hegemony of the Pālas and Senas, during the major part of about four hundred and fifty years.

The political stability for a long time should have encouraged growth of industry and movement of articles of commerce. The Ganges and its branches, apart from overland routes, were convenient channels of communication. The sea-coast of the territory under review enhanced its potentiality as a base for maritime trade.

Commercial activities of the zone in the period concerned are suggested by references in different contemporary sources to its various agricultural and other economic products which become known to the writers concerned apparently on account of their quality and production in remarkable quantity. Specialised industries of this region are indicated by certain literary and archaeological materials. Further information on trade and industry is furnished by early Muslim writers and Chinese authors. These data suggest that during the Pāla-Sena period the area concerned saw trading in local products and imported items of commerce and also exportation of valuable articles, produced locally or brought from interior territories. Inscriptions refer to shops and markets. Though the importance of Tamralipti (modern Tamluk in the Midnapore district of West Bengal) declined quite early in our period, Samandar

(Chittagong in Bangladesh) developed as a port of international repute. It was connected, directly or indirectly, through maritime routes with parts of peninsular India, South-East Asia and West Asia.[1]

Inscriptions and literature allude to great wealth enjoyed by the ruling class and the people favoured by it At least a part of the wealth could have been acquired through taxation and participation in trade. Epigraphic data allude to relevant taxes and the government's control over trading articles. Literary sources suggest that the ruling authorities were apparently interested in promoting the trade.[2]

Brisk trading activities over a vast territory could not have been transacted conveniently by barter only. There must been one or more than one medium of exchange. An important medium of exchange was formed by Kapardakas or cowries,[3] which were imported in large number (from the Maldivis).[4] Coin names (like *dramma* and *purāṇa*) do appear in a few Pāla inscriptions.[5] They may refer to coins (like those bearing the legend *Srī-Vigra*) coming to the territory by way of trade and commerce,[1] since the Pālas or the Senas themselves did not strike coins bearing their names. But these imported coins, which are not found in the area concerned in large number, do not appear to have formed a regular currency of this territory. The name *Kārshāpaṇa* in a later Pāla record and the terms *Purāṇa* and *Kapardaka-purāṇa* in the Sena inscriptions have indeed been taken to denote a unit of currency counted in cowries and not regular coins.[2]

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[1] For references to sources of information furnished in this paragraph see our paper "Money, Trade and Rulers in Mid-Eastern India. (c. 750-1200)" to be published in the proceedings of the Seminar on "Trade and Patterns of Commerce, c. 700-1200 AD", organised by the American Institute of Indian Studies in Delhi on July 29-31, 1983.

[2] See above n. 1.

[3] Sulaiman clearly stated in his *Salsilatu-t Tawārīkh* in about the middle of the 9th century AD that in the kingdom of Ruhmi (i. e. the Pāla empire) (S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, pp. 4-5) "trade is carried on by means of kauries, which are the current money of the country" (H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, reprint, vol. I, p. 5). The Pāla ruler Madanapāla maintained his army by paying cowries (as wages) (Sandhyākaranandī, *Rāmacharita*, IV, 36). In the territory of Rae Lakhmaniah (king Lakshmaṇasena) kauri was the current money and "the least gift he used to bestow was a lac of kauries" (H. G. Raverty, *The Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* vol. I, reprint, p. 556).

[4] Tome Pires noticed in his *Suma Oriental* that cowries were imported in large quantities from the Maldivi islands (*Suma Oriental*, bk : III; see also A. Cortesao's translation, vol. I, p. 95).

[5] For references see D. C. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies*, pp. 49f.

Kapardakas (and even imported debased coins of low intrinsic worth), however, could not ordinarily have been conducive to the growth of industry and commerce as was witnessed in the Pāla empire. Moreover, the problem of transporting a large number of cowries was always there. Payment in cowries through bills of exchange would not help at least itinerant traders, travellers and foreign merchants who wanted to buy commodities after taking decisions at the site of sale. Such people would naturally have preferred for an easily portable form of money having relatively high intrinsic value.

There are indeed indication of existence of a form of money of high worth and purity. The term *chūrṇṇī* or *chūrṇī* (nominative singular of the stem *chūrṇin*, meaning "made or mixed up with anything powdered or pounded"),[3] used as a synonym of *Kārshāpaṇa* or *purāṇa* (i. e. a silver coin of 32 rattis or a unit of currency of the same value) in some records of the Senas and a few other rulers,[4] should have primarily denoted "money in the form of dust of silver" (weighing 32 rattis). Sulaiman indicated in about the middle of the 9th oentury AD the feasibility of the use of silver dust as a medium of exhange.[5] A Tibetan account alludes to the utilisation of gold dust (put in small bags) as a form of money in the Pāla empire in the second quarter of the 11th century AD[1] Nine hundred (pieces of) *hema* ("gold"), referred to in the Silimpur inscription of c. 12th century A D,[2] may then denote gold pieces, each weighing 80 rattis, which was the standard weight of *suvarṇa* (' gold") coins.

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[1] L. Gopal, *Early Mediaeval Coin-Types of Northern India*, pp. 14-16. These coins were known as Vigraha-dramma, Vigrahapāla-dramma, Vigrahatuṅgīya-dramma and Vigrahapālīya-dramma (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, pp. 167f).

[2] D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 and 52.

[3] M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, reprint, 1951, p. 401.

[4] D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 50. According to Oriya lexicons, both *Churṇī* and *purāṇa* are synonyms of *Kāhaṇa* (*Kārshāpaṇa*), which was equal to 1280 cowries. However, in some areas one *churṇī* consisted of 100 cowries only (*ibid.*, p. 50; see also M. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 401).

[5] *HIOH*, vol. I, p. 4.

Thus the territory under review had units of metal (gold and silver) currency as well as Kapardakas to facilitate buying and selling commodities. 1280 Kapardakas or cowries were equal in value to one unit of silver in the form of dust or metalic piece weighing (about 32 rattis).[3] Following a table furnished in the *Līlāvatī*[4] we may presume that 16 such silver units (called *dramma*, *purāṇa*, *kārshāpaṇa* or *chūrṇī)* were equal in value to a piece of gold (called *nishka*, *suvarṇa*, *hema*, etc.) weighing (about) 80 rattis. Such a piece of gold (in the form of dust or metallic piece) was worth 20480 cowries. If debased coins from outside came into circulation in the territory concerned, each class of them would have its own rate of exchange with cowries fixed according to its intrinsic worth.

There is also evidence of the existence of a regular silver coinage in an area of the territory during the period concerned. The area in question was known as Harikela (which initially included the Chittagong district, and later, by the 9th-10th century AD, the Noakhali and Commilla district, and, by then or little later, also the Sylhet region). It had, from about 7th century AD, a silver coinage based typologically, stylically and metrologically on the silver specie of the "Chandras" of nearby Arakan. The name *Harikela* is inscribed on the specimens of the series in question. This series was succeeded by another series of silver coins, having thinner and large flan and lesser weight. Palaeographical features of the legend on the coins of the second series suggest that these were in circulation from about 8th or 9th to 12th or 13th century AD.[1]

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[1] S. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, reprint, p. 60.

[2] *EI*, vol. XIII, p. 292.

[3] The use of the word *churṇīka* (i. e. *churṇī*) as a unit of money is indicated even in a post—Gupta and pre-Pāla record like the Jayrampur copper-plate inscription of Gopachandra (6th century AD). It refers to the fixation of annual tax of a land at 100 *churṇīkas*. The amount is referred to as *ārya-piṇḍaka* or "a suitable lump" sum (M. Monier-Williams *op. cit.*, pp. 152 and 625). The use of "dust" money in the case under review may indicate paucity of regular pure (silver) currency in the zone and period concerned.

[4] Bhaskarāchārya, *Līlāvatī*, I, 2; D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

These coins, bearing a recumbent bull on the obverse and generally a blank reverse, are known at least in two denominations. The weight of the coins of the higher denomination generally varies from 2.3800 to about 3.3660 gms.[2] The relevant weight standard is not connected with that of the earlier series, but is comparable with that of *purāṇas* (of 32 rattis or about 56 grains or 3.628 gms.). However, the fabric, shape and size of these pieces, have striking similarity to thin Aldasid coins, some of which might have come to the area concerned by way of trade and commerce.[3] Thus we cannot altogether deny the possibility of the die-cutters of the second series of coins of Harikela having been influenced by the shape and size of a class of foreign coins. At least there is no doubt that the mint-masters of the second series of Harikela coins adopted an indigenous weight standard. Imported as well as indigenoas silver could be used to mint these coins.[4]

Both the first and second series of Harikela coinage may have local varieties, bearing names of places which can be located within the limits of Harikela.[5] These names and the name *Harikela* show that the coins concerned bear the names of a region or localities.[6] So even

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1. For detailed discussions on the coins of Harikela, see our articles in different journals like the *Bangladesh Lalitkalā*, 1975, vol. I, no. 2, pp. 115f; *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1976, vol. XVIII, pp. 99-101; *Coin Review*, vol. III-IV, 1976, pp. 2-3; *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, vol. X, pp. 166f; etc.
2. See above no. 1.
3. *Numismatic Supplement*, 1934, no. XLV, p. 75; A. K. M. Shamsul Alam, *Mainamati*, pl. IV, no. a and p. 51. See also the *Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference*, 1961, pp. 184-189.
4. In early 16th century Tome Pires noted the import of silver into Bangal. This could have been happened in an earlier period also. In a much earlier age Ptolemy referred by the name *Arguras Khoras* (i. e. Silver Land) an area with mines of silver (VII, 2, 17). It probably meant a part of Arakan, a silver producing region. The availability of imported silver was perhaps one of the factors responsible for good silver coinage of not only Harikela, but also of Bengal Sultans, Tripura and Assam. In this connection see also T. Raychaudhuri and I. Habib (editors), *Economic History of India*, vol. I, *c. 1200-c. 1750*, pp. 9 f.
5. *JAIH*, vol. X, pp. 168f.
6. *Ibid*.

if they were struck during our period by political authorities (like the Pālas, Chandras, Varmans (?) and Senas (?)), they did not care to inscribe their names in the coin-legends. On the other hand, different local varieties of Harikela coinage may suggest that at least these could have been struck by local bankers and guilds, if not by local political authories. In any case, the high purity of metal in the silver coinage of the second series (consisting of regional and local varieties)[1] proves that it was always minted by well organised persons with an intention to maintain its credibility. The weight of the coins of higher denomination indicate that they could pass as *purāṇas* and could be exchanged with a unit silver dust of 32 rattis or piece of equal weight or with 1280 cowries. In the international trade they could be accepted as dependable bullion of fixed weight.[2] It appeares that a feeling of urgency for the acceptance of the coinage of Harikela in trade ensured its continuity and purity and that too even at times when the region was (at least partly) within the Pāla or Sena (?) empire, which otherwise din not have any coinage of its own.

It appears that mid-eastern India in the period ranging from c. AD 750 to 1200 had a very complex system of currency. Its base was sustained by *kapardakas* or cowries. There was no coined money in the major portion of the territory, though outside coins could have found their way to it by way of trade and could have been used according to their intrinsic worth. But large transactions in commerce and other fields could have been carried on regularly in *inter alia* units of silver and gold dust (or pieces) (former weighing 32 rattis and latter 80 rattis). The units of silver dust were exchangeable with silver coins of Harikela. Here the silver coinage was sustained through a comparatively higher pressure of trade and a constant demand for a medium of exchange consisting *inter alia* of a great number of easily portable and countable pieces of relatively high value. This area probably had enough quantity of silver imported from outside. Genuine copper coins do not appear to have been struck in the zone and period under review.

As the silver coinage of Harikela had different denominations, so also units of calculation or value could have been known not only as

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[1] Silver forms more than 80% of the total content of the Harikela silver coins. In certain speciments, it is as high as 93.8%.

[2] For a similar situation in a later period see Tome Pires, *Suma Oriental*, bk. III.

purāṇa or *kārshāpaṇa* (of 32 rattis), but also, like the coins of the same name, could have submultiples like *paṇa, kākaṇī, vuṭṭikā* (or *buḍi*) and *gaṇḍaka* (*gaṇḍa*). A *gaṇḍaka* was worth 4 cowries, a *kākaṇī* 20 cowries, a *paṇa* 80 cowries, and a *kārshāpaṇa* 1280 cowries.[1] The high antiquity of the familiarity of the territory under review with these submultiples is suggested by the occurrence of word *gaṇḍakehi* (i. e. *gaṇḍakaiḥ*), meaning "with *gaṇḍakas*", in the Mahāsthan inscription of the Mauryan age.[2]

The complex currency system satisfied the need of trade, the growth and diversification of which are attested to by available sources. There was neither unusual decline of trade in any phase of the period under review, nor dearth of media of exchange. Ruling authorities were interested in trade, but none of them struck coins at least not in their names Minting of coins was perhaps not considered as a royal prerogative. Hence even units of dust of silver or gold could serve as media of exchange. In fact, they should have served the trade better than coins of doubtful value. When coins were minted in an area of the territory under review purity of metal had to be maintained, again for their ready acceptability for commercial transactions.

The degree of monetisation of trade was quite high, though it was not carried on exclusively or even mainly with coins. The royalty was interested in trade and money, but not in coins. With the advent of Islam the state's attitude to coining was changed. But that is another story.

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[1] D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

[2] D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. I, 2nd edition, pp. 79-80.

A FRESH SURVEY OF THE CHOḶA COINAGE IN SOUTH INDIA (AD 850-1300)

G. KUPPURAM

Between the ninth and thirteenth century, beginning with the rise of Vajayālaya, the Choḷas held their supremacy over Southern India and parts of Island Countries in the South Asian continent. In the midst of the rich epigraphical wealth of the Imperial Choḷas, there has been a lacunae in the coin findings and a small amount of inscribed specimens of Choḷa coins found so far, has yeilded important information to reconstruct the glory of historic south India. At present several numismatic scholars[2] are concentrating more on the scientific background of the ancient coins of India.

Nothing is known of the early Choḷa coins of the Saṅgam age, though an attempt is made to assign a few kinds of copper coins to the 'Saṅgam Choḷas'. These coins were unearthed during the course of excavations conducted on the coastal belts of Tamiḷnāḍu i. e., at Vanagiri and Neidavasal. The coins have 'a standing tiger with up-lifted tail' on the obverse and on the reverse is 'an elephant' or 'a fish'.[3] It has been mentioned that the square copper coins with tiger emblem are unique and can perhaps be ascribed to the early Choḷas who had the tiger as their 'insignia'.[4] Regarding the animal figure there is ambiguity to the 'tiger' which is supposed a typical 'lion with uplifted tail' and hence it

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1. Refer K. A. N. Sastri., *The Colas*, University of Madras, Madras, 1955 pp. 110-438-for a detailed political study.
2. Prof. Upendra Thakur has contributed a well-documented and scientific work on the *Mints and Minting in India* (*MMI*) Varanasi, 1972; Sircar, D. C., *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1168; Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India* (c. AD 225-1300) (*CCSSI*); Desika Chari, T; *South Indian Coins* (*SIC*), Trichinopoly, 1933.
3. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* (*IAR*)., 1961-62, pp. 26-27, plates XLIVB and XLVA.
4. *Ibid*. p. 27.

must have been the issues of the Pallavas[1] who also held their sway along the coastal tracts of ancient Tamiḻnāḍu.

Parāntaka I who ruled from AD 907 to 949 from Uṛaiyūr was known as 'Madurāntaka' and 'Vīra Nārāyaṇa' and so far no coins of this king is available. The period of Ariñjaya (956-57) is noticed by a solitary silver coin having 'a stylized lion' on one side, perhaps denoting the prevalence of Vishṇukuṇḍin and Pallava emblems. The Choḷa currency really starts with Uttama Choḷa (973-85), who assumed the title of 'Madurāntaka'. To this ruler two different varieties have been assigned i. e., the gold *Maḍai* bearing the legend *'Uttam Choḷa'* in Grantha characters[3] and having a seated tiger with a fish in front of it; the tiger being the official symbol of the Choḷas and the fish that of the Pāṇḍyas. Elliot states that its weight ranges from 50 to 60 grains. Most of the coins have the legend *'Uttam Choḷa'* and all of which cannot be attributed to the same king. Scholars[4] opine that certain silver and coppor coins with the legend *'Uttam Choḷa'*, written in Nāgari characters are of Rājendra Choḷa" period and the title 'Uttama Choḷa' as also adopted by Rājendra Choḷa I.[5] However the Nāgari script started appearing during the reign of Rājarāja I.[6] Further the epithet 'Madhurāntaka' points out to the sovereignty over the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai. The 'Madurāntaka' *maḍai*[7] and the *Mahsa* of Sri-Lanka are of the same weight and even silver currency was also circulated. The Choḷa epigraphs compare this coin to the other gold coins which had to be tested in its fineness and weight. The term '*poṉ*' and '*kāśu*' are referred to the gold coins throughout the Choḷa kingdom. The Chera emblem is also found in one of the coins of Uttama Choḷa and this coin is also attributed to Rājendra I. Another interesting specimen carries the legend in old Tamiḷ '*Avnipa Sekharan Choḷaha*' and with two fishes on the obverse but the symbol is absent. Scholars like T. Desikachari[1] are ambiguous whether this coin belongs to the Pallava or Choḷa period. Hultzsch reads the legend as '*Avnipa Sekaran Golaga*' and interpreted as 'reund coin' of Avanipa Sekharan'.

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[1] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (*JRAS*) ; 1903, plate No. 19 ; *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*JCBRAS*); New Series IV, 1955-56, pp. 72-73, plates 1-2.

[2] *JNSI*, XXXI. II, pp. 166-68, plate II, I ; XXIX, II, pp. 81-83, pl. IV. 2.

[3] Elliot, W., *Coins of Southern India,* London, 1885-86, reprint Varanasi, 1970, p. 152, G. No. 152 ; Sastri, K. A. N., *op. cit*, p. 159, 629 (Fn. 40) ; M. H. Krishna ; *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1934, p. 59, No. 3.

[4] Sastri, K. A. N. *op. cit*, p. 166 Fn. 75 ; Biddulph, C. H. *Coins of the Cholas* (*CC*), Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 13, Varanasi, 1968, p. 48, No. 25.

[5] *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* (*ARSIE*)., 1909, p. 43.

[6] Sastri, K. A. N., *op. cit*, p. 626, pn. 40.

[7] This single gold coin is preserved in the British Museum, Biddulph, C. H., *op. cit*, p. 40, no. 1 ; Allan, J., *The Numismatic Chronicle and the Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society* (*NC*), 5th series, VII, 1937, p. 300 ; plate XXXV, No. 9, M.H. Krishna, op. cit, 1934, p. 59, no. 4, plate XVIII, no. 4 The coin has been satisfactorily read as *Matirantakan* which is the equivalent of Madurantakan-Nagaswamy, R., in *Damilica*, No. 1, 1970, pp. 101-03 also see *Corpus of Chola Coins.*

Copper coins bearing the legend '*Kodaṇḍarāman*' on the obverse, the lower umbrella flanked by chowries and two fishes separated by a sceptre below the crescent is noticed on the reverse. Parāntaka I is said to have a son named 'Śrī Kodaṇḍdarama' and he may be the same as Rājāditya.

After Uttama Choḷa we come to know of Rājarāja the Great whose copper *kāśus* were innumerable throughout the Madras presidency and Sri Lanka. His coins bear a standing human figure clad in regal robes on the obverse and on the reverse the same figure with the legend in Devanāgari characters '*Raja Raja*' under the right arm. Such coins with the same picturesque is uncommon in gold and silver. The seated tiger always figures in the Choḷa seals but on the later Choḷa coins the figure of the seated tiger is found flanked by the fish (Pāṇḍyan emblem and the Chera bow). The specific device is not to be seen in the coins of Rājarāja I. A rare evidence of the above device is noticed in an impure silver coin of Rājarāja I wherein on the obverse is seen the identical squatting human figure with seated tiger flanked by lamps and surmounted by a parasol and the seated tiger, fish and bow on the reverse side. Above all these standing and sitting human postures are eventually observed in the Sinhalese coins during the 12th & 13th centuries. During the overlordship of Rājarāja these coins were called as Ceylon type because of its own importance. "The history of Ceylon from very early times down to the fourteenth century is the history of the struggles of the Aryan

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1. *SIC*, p. 65.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, 1892.

islanders to hold their own against the ever-increasing numbers of the Dravidian hoardes Twelve times the Tamiḷs became masters of the plains and twelve times the Sinhalese issued forth from their mountain strongholds to drive their enemies back across the sea."[1] So far prior to the reign of Parākramabāhu during 12th century AD, we do not come across any of the Sinhalese coins Rectangular coins were dug out from excavations in Sri Lanka and they are the same as those found at Madurai and Tinnevely districts. The prevalence of gold *maḍais* of Rājarāja in Śri Laṅka attest his hegemony over this island. But again it has been a matter of discussion as to whether this type was imported from Ceylon or struck in South India,[3] but it has to be noted that Rājarāja is the first ruler to introduce it. Although Rājarāja's name is found inscribed on several copper, gold & silver coins, there has been no remarkable change in the execution of the figures on both sides and the style adopted. Further going ahead of Rājarāja's time, there has been a slow and concurrent change in the figures which were crude and which consisted of dots and lines. They are extremely stylized and minor process are noticed on both sides of the coin.[2] The coins of Rājarāja are also found associated with the emblems of the Pāṇḍyas (fish) and the Chāḷukyas (boar). The copper coins of Rājarāja found in Śri Lanka bear the same 'seated figure' and the legend '*Rajarāja Laṅkeśvra*' in Devanāgari.

Rājarāja's religious toleration is further noticed on the coins with clear Vaishṇavite symbols like the *Vishṇupada* or the feet of Viṣhṇu or the figure of Krishna as *Muralīdhara* (the flute player), and well-known objects of worship among the Vaishṇavas. Among his other coins, apart from the legend there is a representation of a galloping horseman on the obverse side and its relevance is obscure.

Even in Southern Karnāṭaka which was occupied by the Imperial Choḷas for more than a century, there existed a uniform system of currency

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1. Quoted from *SIC*, p. 68.
2. See Loventhal, E., *The Coins of Tirnevely*, Madras, 1888, pp. 8-10 ; *SIC*, pp. 68-69 ; Sastri, K. A. N., *op. cit*, p. 617 ; Codrington H. W., *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (*CCC*), Colombo, 1924, pp. 71-74 ; Also refer Biddulph's opinions in the *Coins of the Pandyas*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs no.11, Varanasi, 1966, p. 12 and *CC.*, p. 16.
3. *CCSSI.*, P. 55 ; Loventhal, E., *CI.*, p. 8, plate 11, nos. 34-44.

and coinage.[1] The earliest is a copper coin[2] of Rājarāja I in Nāgari characters found in the Chintamani taluk of Kolar district in Karnāṭaka. Another hoard of Choḷa silver coins of Rājādhirāja I was discovered at Kartoka in the North Kanara district,[3] could lead to infer that a portion of North Kanara district laying the Coastal region may have been the place of Choḷa invasion.[4]

It is authentic that epigraphical evidences testify the benefits of the Choḷa coinage in Karnāṭaka and their currency system had a considerable impact on the future history of currency in Karnāṭaka. M. H. Krishna[6] asserts that the coins of the Choḷa weightage had become quite established during the century of Choḷa rule in Karnāṭaka so that the conquering enemy (i.e., the Hoysaḷas) had to adopt it. Even the Hoysaḷa emperor Vishṇuvardhana retained the Choḷa type of coinage in his own name perhaps (?) to indicate the victory over the Choḷas.[6] The Choḷa coins also spread to the northern portion of Karnāṭaka as seen in the gold pieces with Tamiḷ legends of western Chāḷukya king Jagadekamalla and of the Kadambas of Goa.[7] The *āḍavalam gadyāṇa*[8] of the Koṅgāḷvas, a feudatory family of the Imperial Choḷas in the 11th century AD, as Prof. K. A. N. Sastri[9] points out, is not similar to Gadyāṇa but reformed type of Choḷa gold coin. It is quite likely that during their subordination to the Imperial Choḷas they were loyal but when they become independent they started following their own pattern of currency system by giving new names to the coins though they retained the weight of the Choḷa coins.

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1. Kuppuram, G., *Imperial Cholas in Karnataka—A critical study* (*AD* 900-1200), (unpublished thesis, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1980) p. 214.
2. *MAR.*, 1945, p. 79, Also refer *MAR.*, pp. 58-72 for a detailed examination of Choḷa coins.
3. Gupta, P. L., *JNSI*, XXIV, pt. I. and II, 1962, p. 183.
4. Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture*, Manipal, 1975, pp. 34-35.
5. *MAR.*, 1929, p. 23.
6. Narasimha Murthy, A. V., *Coins of Karnataka*, Mysore, 1975, p. 96.
7. Smith V. A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1966, pp. 313-14.
8. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, I, 49.
9. *Op. cit*, p. 618, Codrington, *CCC*, p. 8.

Rājendra I succeeded his father Rājarāja in AD 1011 and after defeating the Gaṅga king claimed the surname of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Choḷa. His coins bear the same device both on the obverse and reverse. In the centre there is a seated tiger, the emblem of the Choḷa king facing to the right with two fishes, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyan king in front, and a bow, the emblem of the Chera king, behind the whole group flanked by two lamps and surmounted by a parasol and two chowries. Another coin of Rājendra Choḷa bears the Nāgari legend '*Yuddhamall'* and epithets like 'malla' are commonly found among the Eastern Chaḷukyan families[1] but according to Biddulph,[2] "it could have been struck by Rājendra Choḷa I, as a special issue at the time of the marriage of his daughter to the Chāḷukya Rājarāja Narendra (1019-61), the father of Rājendra II (Chāḷukya) who was known subsequently as Kulottuṅga I (Choḷa)."[3] A similar coin of early date with the same device and fabric is exhibited in the National Museum at Copenhagen which has a crude standing figure like those of Rājarāja and a Nāgari legend '*Jaya Chola*'.[3] A small gold coin[4] of the same ruler at Copenhagen shows the seated tiger between two lampstands on one side and a two line Tamiḷ legend *Chedikula* on the other side.

Rājendra Choḷa was succeeded by his son Rājādhirāja I (1018-1044) who ruled jointly with his father. A gold coin[5] of this ruler is noticed with a standing figure and the legend "*Śrī Rājādhirāja* 'on the reverse and' a seated figure facing a seated tiger 'on the obverse'. Numerous silver coins with the legend '*Rājādhirāja*,' '*Ma (hā) rājadhirāja*' or '*Ra*' have been found in North Canara[6] and these issues were struck for Karnāṭaka region as Rājādhirāja's rule extended over the Western Chāḷukyan teritories. After the demise of Rājendra Choḷa I until the rise of Kulottuṅga Choḷa I, there has been a paucity of coins. A hoard of sixteen gold coins were discovered in the Krishna district of Andhra

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1. Venkataramanayya, N., *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, p. 317, *Epigraphia Indica*, V, p. 106 ff.
2. *CC.*, p. 21.
3. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, (Calcutta), IV, 1970-71, pp. 166-67.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.
5. Cordrington., *op-cit*, p. 84, no. 5.
6. *JNSI.*, XXIV, pp. 183-184.

Prodesh which is now preserved in the government Museum at Madras. The coins bear the following details. "Centre : A boar facing the proper left and surrounded by two lamps, an elephant goad, a parasol and two indistinct emblems. Margin : *Śrī Rāja Rāja Saṁvat-34*. The coins bear the legend on the obverse, while the "punch-marks" show through on the plain revere. The irregular concave shape of the obverse was evidently caused by the gradual bending of the coin during the application of six several punches to make the impressions on the coins." Another discovery was a large hoard of gold coins found at Dhawaleshvarm[1] in the Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh pertaining to Kulottuṅga I (1070-1118 AD) reveals the political union between Eastern Chāḷukya and Choḷa family finally into a single state. There are two more coins[2] of Kulottuṅga I with the 'tiger' in place of the Chāḷukyan 'boar' in the centre and the legend *Choḷanārayaṇa* and Kulottuṅga claims the title 'Rājanārāyaṇa' which resembles with the above epithet. Even Rājarāja I had the title 'Choḷanārāyaṇa'. It is obvious that both the tiger & boar crests are seen on coins with the title 'Choḷanārāyaṇa' and this indicates that Kulotkuṅga I represented for both the families under one kingdom. Further these coins are stated to have been manufactured in Vengi before Kulottuṅga I. It is quite possible that the Eastern Chāḷukyas were minting and circulating coins independently from the period of Rājarāja I. The coin with the legend '*Chāḷukhurayana*' is also attributed to Kulottuṅga I because the central device denotes the Choḷa mint though the title is of the Eastern Chāḷukyan dynasty. Besides there were a few coins in the Dhawleshvaram hoard pertaining to eastern Chāḷukyan ruler Rājarāja. These issues bear the common device in the centre and the legends read as '*Kaṅgalkoṇḍa Cholan*, and '*Malainadukoṇḍa Cholan*' are of punched letters in Tamiḷ-Grantha script.[4] These coins were manufactured in the Veṅgi country and they cannot be assigned earlier to the period of Kulottunga I, and the legend '*Kaṅgaikoṇḍa Cholan*' was read as '*Kataikoṇḍa Cholan*' i. e., the Choḷa who destroyed Kataha (Kadaram).

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1. Balakrishna Nayar, T., *The Dowleshwaram Hoard of Eastern Calukyan and Coḷa Coins.*
2. Hultzsch IA, XXV, 1896, p. 321, nos. 26-27 , Sastri K. A. N. *The Coḷas*, p. 626, no. 36.
3. *MAR*, 1917, p. 42, no. 91.
4. Sastri, K. A. N., *op. cit*, pp. 614-15.

This is further epigraphically substantiated that Kulottuṅga I was victorious in the conquests of south-east Asia.[1] Another coin with the legend '*Malainadukoṇḍa Cholan*' refers to the conquest of Malaināḍu or the Chera country.[2] Among the Choḷa-Chaḷukyan coins the heaviest specimen weigh on an average of 74 grains. Quite a variety of coins are found mentioned in inscriptions, some of them have been discovered but it is difficult to spot out as to which variety it falls under. Further the epigraphs from time to time and place, refer to the different values of the coins and they are not specific, probably owing to the introduction of different denominations and usage of metals. Moreover the *kāśu* has been circulated at various levels of governmental administration.[3]

The later Choḷa coins show the standing figure on the obverse and a standing bull with the Devanāgari syllable '*vi*' which stands for 'vīra Choḷa' or the Canarese syllable '*vi*' which may stand for 'Vikrama Choḷa,' the sncessor of Kulottuṅga I.

The glory and decline of the Choḷa rule in South India is depicted in some of the Pāṇḍyan coins which bear the legend "*Kachi Valaṅgum Perumal*" which reveals that the Pāṇḍyan king after defeating the Choḷas in a fierce battle generously handed over Kañchipuram to the Choḷa prince. In another coin, a short legend i. e., '*Chonadu Kordan*' is noticed which means that the Pāṇḍyas conquered the Choḷa country. Neither the weights of the punch-marked silver coins nor those of the silver pieces of the Choḷa period furnish accurate information.

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1. *Ibid*, pp. 5-7.
2. Balakrishna Nayar, *op. cit*, p. 12, notes 32-33.
3. Appadorai, A., *Economic Conditions in Southern India*, (AD 1000-1500), II, pp. 800-804.

COIN TERMS MENTIONED IN MĀNAUMI CHAUPADA

A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

Mānaumi Chaupada (*Mahānavami Chaturapāda*) a Kannaḍa work of Nanjundayya was composed in about 1730 AD.[1] The poet flourished under Krishnaraja Odeyar, the Mahārāja of Mysore state. He also mentions the Dalvoy and Sarvādhikāri of Mysore palace namely, Kaḷale Vīrappāji and his son Devarāja. The verses glorify the Odeyar rule and also comments on the various officers of the Mysore palace. These poems were meant to be sung during the *mahānavamī* festival which is the penultimate day of the Dasahara festivities in Mysore. Even today *mahānavamī* is an important day of the Dasahara festival.

The work has a small section dealing with Chinavayya who was a mintmaster of the Mysore palace.[2] While praising his proficiency in the knowledge of mints and coins, the author mentions a large number of coin terms which are of great interest to students of numismatics of the area. Hence it is proposed to examine these terms and identify the coins they denoted.

Gerusoppe Rāmachandra Jaḍeya :[3] The precise meaning of this term is not known. Gerusoppe was a small feudatory state during the period and it is quite likely that the coin referred to here is a coin issued by one of the polegars, perhaps containing the picture of Rāma.

Śivarāya Varaha[4] : This is obviously a gold coin of the value of a *varaha*, the coin of highest denomination in medieval Karnāṭaka. Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagara issued gold *varahas* which show Śiva and Pārvatī on the obverse; Śiva holding a *ḍamarū* in his right hand. The reverse contains the three lined Nāgarī legend *Śrī pratāpa sadāśivarāya.*[1] In fact the word *pratāpa* in the reverse makes it clear that it is different from the *varaha* issued by Śivappa Nāyaka of Keḷadi. In the coins of this ruler, the obverse depicts seated figures of Śiva and Pārvatī, Śiva holds a trident in his right hand and an antelope in his left. The reverse shows the Nāgarī legend *Śrī sadāśiva* in two lines.[2] Usually both the coins are referred to as *Śivarāya varahas* and the author of *Mānaumi Chaupada* must have been referring to the latter because of the near contemporanity.

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[1] The author is grateful to Dr. T. V. Venkatachala Sastry, Reader, Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore for drawing the attention of the author to this work and also to the numismatic terms contained therein, which prompted the author to take up this study. The work has been edited with a short introduction by N. Anantharangachar; *Mānaumi Chaupada;* Sharada Mandira, Mysore, II edition, 1970.

[2] *Mānaumi Chaupada*, p. 18-20.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[4] *Ibid.*

Beṇṇemuddeyanāṇya : Literally it means a coin having a lump of butter. With this description one can easily identify this coin as a Vijayanagara issue, popularly known as Bālakṛishṇa type of coin of Kṛishṇadevaraya who stamping victory on Udayagiri, snatched the image of Kṛishṇa from there and built a temple at Hampi for this deity in AD 1514-15. In order to commemorate this great event he minted gold coins of Bālakṛishṇa type[3] which projects many varieties in the portrayal of Bālakṛishṇa. On account of the popularity of these species he minted *varahas*, half *varahas* and quarter *varahas* in this type. The obverse of this type shows sitting Balakṛishṇa, holding a lump of butter in his right hand wearing earrings, bracelets, armlets and anklets. To the left is a conch and to the right is a *chakra*. The reverse bears the Nāgarī legend-*śrī pratāpa krishṇarāya*. However, it is worthy of notice that no other coin of south India has any connection with lump of butter. Hence the coin referred to here is none other than the Bālakṛishṇa type of gold coin of Kṛishṇadevaraya of Vijayanagara. However, it is interesting to note that this coin was referred to as coin of lump of butter even after two centuries of its first minting.

Guttihonnu: *Hon*, a gold coin, very popular in south India, was in vogne in Karnāṭaka from the time of the Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi.[4] In course of time it became more popular, particularly during the Hoysaḷa, Sevuṇa and Vijayanagara periods. The practice of referring to coins by the names of their mints or other important characteristics is certainly interesting in the early medieval Karnāṭaka, e. g., *Lokki hon* was minted at Lokkigundi during the period of Chālukyas[1] of Kalyāṇa; *Navilacchina hon,* another type of *hon,* perhaps, had a peacock on it.[3] On the same analogy, it can easily be said that *Gutti hon* is the *hon* minted at Gutti, a provincial capital during and after Vijayanagara period. It is important to note that Tipu had a mint at Gutti.

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[1] *The Coins of Karnataka;* A. V. Narasimha Murthy; p. 167.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[4] *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. XX, Nos. 76, 82, 85, 102, 106,

Paṭṭaṇada hon : On the analogy of the *Gutti hon*, it also appears to be a coin minted at Paṭṭaṇa. Paṭṭana as the name of a mint became prominent during the time of Tipu Sultan and it meant Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. Tipu used only the latter half of the full name Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. Even today for the people in Mysore Paṭṭan means Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. Hence the coin in question is a *hon* minted at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa. This makes it clear that there was a mint at Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa even before Tipu started one.

Narasīpurada hon : It is a *hon* minted at Narasīpura. This place is about 20 miles from Mysore and is known as Tirumakūḍal Narasīpura.

Kṛishnanāyakana hon : It is a *hon* minted by Kṛishṇa Nāyaka. In all probability it is a *hon* minted by Kṛishnarāja Odeyar himself or one of his predecessors who were popularly known as Kṛishṇabhūpāla, Kṛishṇarāja, Kṛishṇanāyaka *etc.* and hence this surmise may be correct.

Roṭṭi Timmanāyakana hon : It obviously, refers to a *hon* minted by a chief named Timmanāyaka. Though it is difficult to identify this chief, it has to be noted that there was a chief by name Timmanāyaka of Kālekere who fought against the Marāṭhās in favour of the Mysore Odeyars sometime in 1771 near Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa.[2] He had close relations with the Odeyars of Mysore during the period. Hence he was the chief who minted these hons referred to in *Mānaumi Chaupada.*

Gajabēnṭekārana hon : Literally it means a *hon* of elephant hunting type. It reminds us similar coins minted by the Vijayanagara ruler Devarāya II, who was fond of elephant sport. He had the title *Gajabēnṭekāra.* Inscriptions refer to him as one who instituted elephant hunt.

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1. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, part i, no 164.
2. *Ibid.*,
3. C. Hayavadana Rao; *History of Mysore*, Vol. III, p. 194.

Foreign traveller Abdur Razzak tells us that the court of Devarāya II contained more than one thousand elephants, lofty as hills and gigantic as demons.[1] These facts show the special liking of Devarāya II towards elephants. The coins of this king invariably portray a figure of the elephant on the obverse, while the Nāgari legend read *śrī dēvarāya gajabēnṭekāra* on the reverse. It makes the point clear that the coin in question discussed above belongs to Devarāya II of the Vijayanagara dynasty.

Rāmamudrike : Obviously, it refers to a *Rāmaṭaṅkī* which was quite popular during the period in South India.

Biḷugi Chakra : In all probability, this must have been a coin minted at Biḷgi, an important seat of polegars during the period.

Tirupatihaṇa : It is a *haṇa* which has a reference to Tirupati and reminds us the coins of Vijayanagara rulers. Kṛishṇdevarāya, due to his special devotion for Venkateśvara of Tirupati, established bronze image of himself with his two consorts in a devotional position. After his great victory over Orissa, Kṛishṇdevarāya went to Tirupati and performed *Kanakābhisheka* to the lord of Tirupati by specially minting double *varahas* weighing 117 grains and 0.75″ in diameter.[2] These are elegant and beautiful species of Vijayanagara mint. The obverse depicts four handed figure of Venkateśvara standing on a lotus, wearing a tall *kirīṭa;* the right hand is in *abhayamudrā;* above the image is an ornamental arch with a *siṁhamukha*. Sometime later Srirangarāya IV of Vijayanagara issued similar coins. As they were minted at Gandikoṭa they are also called as *Gandikoṭa*. On the obverse of these coins is seen *Venkatēśvar* under an arch and the reverse has the legend *Srī Venkatēśvarāya namaḥ*.[3] Both these coins are popularly known as Tirupati coins and hence the reference by the author of *Mānaumi Chaupada* is to these coins of the Vijayanagara rulers.

Ikkēri varaha : *Ikkēri varaha* is the most popular coin of the rulers of Keḷadi. It was issued by Sadāśivanāyaka of Keḷadi in imitation of the gold *varahas* of Sadāśivanāyaka of Vijayanagara dynasty. These

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[1] Sewell; *Forgotten Empire*, P. 281.

[2] *The Coins of Karnataka*, p. 161.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

varahas show the figures of Śiva and Pārvatī on the obverse with Nāgari legend *Śrī Sadāśiva* on the reverse. These coins were known as *Ikkēri varahas* in the contemporary inscriptions.[1]

Ṭemki : It is obviously a *ṭanka*, a well known coin of medieval India. It is of some interest to note that half a measure of incence costed three and a half *ṭankas* during the period.[2]

Gadyāṇa : Though it was a popular coin during the early and medieval periods but it became less popular in leter period. However, its place was taken by *varaha* which was used almost as a synonym of that term.

Parangi putthaḷi : Though it is difficult to give a satisfactory explaination of the term, but, in all prabability it might have referred to the coins of East India company. Literally, it refers to a coin having the emblem of Britishers.

Kuṇigal Parasiya Nāgara : Though it is difficult to explain this term, however, it may be surmised that it refers to a coin minted at Kuṇigal, a place eighty miles from Mysore. *Kuṇigal haṇa* was a well known coin in the post Vijayanagara period. The present coin might be a similar one.

Aḍḍo, Vīsa and Bēḷe : These are denominations of coins which are referred to in the inscriptions of the Keḷadi chiefs of the post Vijayanagara period. One *aḍḍa* was equal to two *hāgas;* one *hāga* was equal to two *bēḷes;* and one *hāga* was equal to four *vīsas.*[3] These denominations were in use even during the period of the Mysore Odeyars.

The meaning of the terms like *māsumoḷe, gūṭumoḷe, kattevița, ānevița, bombeputthaḷi* and *baṭrameḷaya* are not known.

Finally the work refers to the mint master who carried a small touchstone and a balance to know the fineness and the weight of the gold coins. In this connection it is worth quoting the foreign travellers Barbosa and Varthema who travelled in the Vijayanagara empire. According

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
2. *Mānaumi Chaupada*, p. 34.
3. *The Coins of Karnataka*, p. 212.

to Barbosa the help was taken of the goldsmiths who always carried a touchstone to test the fineness and purity of gold.[1] According to Varthema, money changers and goldsmiths had very small balances which were accurate. They used touchstones along with some material which looked like wax. They pressed the gold on this and detected the fineness of gold.[2] Thus the work, *Mānaumi Chaupada* gives very interesting information on the coins of Karnāṭaka.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 140.

[2]. *Ibid*.

MUGHISU-D DĪN YŪZBAK
A REVIEW OF HIS COINS AND CAREER

ROMA NIYOGI

(Pl. IX, 1-3)

I : COINS

This review of the coins and career of Yūzbak of Lakhanauti has been prompted by recent notices of some new coins of the ruler.

Three types of coins of Yūzbak, all in silver, have been published so far. Though rather scarce, several specimens of the type issued last by the Sultān are known and these are more or less familiar to the interested scholars. These are struck at *Lakanauti* by Sultān Mughisu-d Dīn Yūzbak in Ramzān, 653 AH (1255 AD) from the revenue of Azmardan and Nadiā.[1] The second type, only one specimen of which is known so far, was published in *JNSI* (1978) without a plate; it was issued one year earlier in 652 AH (1254 AD) from Nadia by the same Sultān who significantly calls himself *Abu'l Fateh* **(Pl. IX. 2)**.[2] The third type was issued still earlier by Yūzbak as the governor of Lakanauti under Nāsiru-d Dīn Mahmud of Delhi (1246-66 AD). The first known specimen was noticed and published by Thomas and Hoernle more than a century ago and later when the piece came to the Indian Museum it was entered in its Catalogue with the last two lines on the reverse read only partially.[3] A second specimen of this type has been recently published with no details of weight and measurement.[4] On this piece the marginal legend containing the date and the mint-name does not occur on the obverse and the reverse legend has lost several letters at the begining and end of lines, and, also almost the whole of the last line. Consequently the legend deciphered is an incoherent one; it mentions the names of "the great king Sultān Nasiru-d Din Mahmud and the name of his father as Atula" and of "Al-abd Yūzbak, al-Sultān". We have not yet come across any source which informs us that Nāsiru-d Dīn

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[1] *CCMI*, II (I), p. 146, no. 6.

[2] *JNSI*, XL (1978) pp. 136 ff.

[3] *CCIM*, II (I), no. 140.

[4] *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. V, pt. I.

Mahmud's father Iltutmish, the great Sultān was ever known as Atula; and the instance of a person calling himself a slave and a Sultān in the same breath is certainly very unique !

The third and a better specimen of the type mentioned last is being published in the next number of the Indian Museum Bulletin.[1] The similarity between the first and the third specimens is so great as to suggest their having been struck from the same die. The last two lines on the reverse of the third piece can be read fully as '*fī nau bat al abd Yūzbak Al-Sultānī*' فی نوبت العبد یوزبک السلطانی i. e. during the governorship of Yūzabak, the slave of the Sultān **(Pl. IX. 1)**. In the marginal legend of the I. M. specimen only the second and the third digits of the date can be read while the first along with the greater part of the mint-name is wholly missing. On the new coin the mint-name *Lakanauti* (not *be-Lakanauti* as has been read in the I. M. Catalogue) is followed by *fī sanah* after which appears the lower part of a perpendicular stroke which can only stand for a *alif*. The second digit can be easily restored as 50 خمسین and the last one is 600 ستمایة . The first digit begining with an *alif* can be reasonably restored as احد (one) or اثنین (two). This reading of the date as 651 or 652 tallies with the general consensus of the scholars that Yūzbok became the governor of Lakhanauti in 650 or 651 AH.[2]

On the full-flan specimens of the best known type of the coins of Yūzbak struck from the revenue of Azmardan and Nadia the mint-name stands out clearly as *be-Lakanauti* and the name of the first revenue zone can be read as Azmardan ازمردن .[3] The second coin under discussion is a new one of this type with a new date. It may be described as follows :

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[1] *Indian Museum Bulletin*, Vol. XVI.

[2] Stewart, *Hist. of Bengnl*, p. 41; Yazdani, *op. cit.*, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. IV (Ed. S. Ahmed), pp. 5-6; *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Ed. J. N. Sarkar) p. 51.

[3] *CCMI*, II (I), p. 146 gives the name as Arz Badan ارض بدن ; but I have examined one such full-flan specimen in the collection of Sri N. S. Dugar of Calcutta; also vide *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. 33, plate facing p. 144, no. 2.

Metal : Silver.

Size : 27-28 mm; irregular round shape due to a shroff-mark on the border.

Weight : 9.600 gms. (approx).

Obverse : Inscribed in a circle within a double square : As in the rev. of the I. M. specimen.

Margin around : هذ الفضة بلكنوتي من خراج ازمردن ونوديا فى
شهور سنة اربع وخمسين وستماية

Reverse : As in the obv. of the I. M. specimen.[1]

(Pl. IX. 3).

Coins of this type published so far mention the name of the month, Ramzān, and the year of minting, 653; this new coin minted in the next year does not specify the month of issue but gives us the year only اربع وخمسين وستماية (i. e. 654 AH).

The numismatic evidence thus marks three important phases of Yūzbak's career; as a submissive governor of Lakhanauti recognizing the overlordship of Nāsiru-d Din Mahmud in 651 or 652; then in 652 as a sultān who had recently declared independence probably somewhere near the town of minting, Nadiā, after a memorable victory, as the title ابو الفتح indicates; and lastly as a successful consolidator of his conquests in 653 and 654, when he issued from Lakhanauti coins which were struck from the revenue of Nadiā and Azmardan.

Scholars have generally identified Azmardan (read as Arz Badan in *CCIM*) with Ūmardan of Raverty in his translation of the Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, which in its turn has been identified with Madāran situated in

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[1] I am grateful to Mr. Muntaz Ahmed of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) for his guidance to me in writing the Arabic legends and words.

Arambag sub-division in Hoogly district. While comparing several copies of the text of the Tabaqāt, Raverty has noted the different words which appear in different copies in this context, namely, اومردن (Ūmardan) which he had preferred, and also ارمردن (Armardan) and ازمردن Azmardan). Since the form of the name noted last is found also on the coins of Yūzbak the correct version in the Tabaqāt also should be accepted as Azmardan.[1] It may be mentioned in this connection that though in Vol. I Raverty claims that "the capital of the Jājnagar state, our author distinctly states, was Umardan ...". In Vol. II he translates the relevant portion as (Malik Yūzbak) ".. marched in army from Lakhanauti into the territory of Ūmardan and unexpectedly reached the Rāe's capital which city they styled Ūmardan. The Rāe of that place retired before Malik Yūzbak and the whole of the Rāe's family .... and elephants fell into the hands of the Muslim forces".[2] The preceeding paragraph in the Tabaqāt describes a reverse which Yūzbak suferred "at the hands of the infidels of Jājnagar." If the glorious victory in which Yūzbak completely routed his enemy had been won against the Rāe of Jājnagar there would have been an explicit and exultant claim to that regard; instead of that *the Rāe of that place* is mentioned and the place is called *the country of Ūmardan* (sic); in this context there is no reference to Jājnagar or the Rāe of Jajnagar. All these indicate that *the Rāe of that place* was different from the Rāe of Jājnagar. He was probably the son-in-law of the Rāe of Jājnagar, the *Sābantar* (Sāmanta Rāe or feudal chief) who ruled over this Gaṅga-occupied region as a feudatory chief under his father-in-law. Minhāj has described how he distinguished himself on an earlier occasion against the Turkish army.

Modern Madāran which lies seven or eight miles west-south-west of the town of Arambag has generally been identified with Azmardan (Ūmardan of Raverty); but according to Walī the modern place-name should not be regarded as a corrupt form of *Mandāran* as suggested by Bankimchandra. In fact, the literary references to Madāran, as such, goes back to the pages of the Ain-i-Akbarī and it has appeared as a mint-name on a recently published coin of Jajālu-d Dīn Fath Shāh (886-93/1481-87 AD).[1] When Wali visited the ruins of *Bhītargaḍh* and *Bāhirgaḍh* at Madāran in 1915 he found an inscription of Husain Shāh on a basalt stone loosely fixed to the tomb of Ismail Ghazi; it recorded that 'the gate was constructed during the reign of ... Husain Shāh ... in the year 900' (1494-95 AD); what is more interesting he saw a large gate to the south of Madāran known as *Uriyā Mardān*.[2] Though Wali has suggested that the gate of Husain Shāh might be this gate or some other at the entrance of the fortress, he has not commented upon the possible age of the gate *Uriyā Mardān*. The phonetic similarity between the two names *Uriyā Mardān* and *Azmardan/Armardan* has tempted the writer of these pages to presume that the name originally given by the Orissa rulers after one of their many victories on the eastern border, to a tract of lands where the enemies have been crushed, might have been *Ari-mardan*. In various MSS of the Tabaqāt this name has been written as Armardan ارمردن or with the addition of a *nokta* as Azmardan, a form which we find on the coins also. As the region was situated on the Orissa-Bengal border the word gradually corrupted into Oriyā Mardān and came to be associated with the gate '.......Mubarak' of Husain Shāh which was built in order to guard against Orissa invasions and which considering the topography of the surrounding area, was of considerable military and strategic importance.

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[1] *TN*, I, pp. 587-88; II, pp. 763-64 (f. n.); also ازمردان Azmardān in in copy.

[2] *Ibid.*

The mixed nature of calligraphy, different forms of the same letters on these coins roused my curiosity to seek learned opinion on the peculiarity. Maulvi A. Khallaque of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, has very kindly pointed out that Persian language and letter-forms were already known in India in the 6th and 7th century AH though they were used very seldom in the inscriptions. S. Ahmad while noticing the earliest Persian inscription in India inscribed on the Qutb Mosque in 587 AH (1191 AD), remarks that though Persian was introduced in India in the

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1. *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. 33, pp. 142 ff.
2. *JASB.*, 1917, pp. 131 ff.

6th century AH "it was not recognized as a language popular enough for the use in epigraphic records, just as it was not also so regarded for numismatic purposes". He has, however, noted "sporadic interpolation of Persian words and phrases".[1] On these coins of Yūzbak also Persian calligraphic influence may be traced, as for example in في being written as فے and, the mint-name Lakhanauti لكنوتى as لكنوتے Earlier on a joint-issue of Iltutmish and 'Iwaz اثنى (two) is seen to have been written as اثنے .[2]

II : CAREER

Qanungo describes Yūzbak as the first Shamsī *mamluk* who openly assumed the title of Sultan.[3] Minhāj supplies us with an unsatisfactory sketch of the early career of this ruler of Lakhanauti. We are informed[4] that Malik Yūzbak, a native of Khifchek, came to Delhi as a slave of Iltutmish and served altogether six Sultans of the dynasty. His first important appointment was as the Deputy Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen. He is said to have enjoyed the intimacy and favour of Firuj Shah and became 'Amir-i-Majlis' and Superintendent of Elephants'; but later he was one of the ring-leaders of the Turkish slaves of the Sultan, who rebelled and killed many Tāzik officers. The next reign saw him as 'the Lord of the Stables'. In 639 he joined Bahrām Shāh and rendered him 'some approved service'; but very soon he fell a victim to a court conspirecy and was imprisoned. After the overthrow of Bahram Shāh he was released. The next Sultān Maśūd Shah gave him the charge of Tabarhinda and *subsequently* of Lahore for *sometime*. *Subsequently* he rebelled but was pardoned and restored to royal favour through the mediations of Ulugh Khan, who enthusiastically took up his cause. *Subsequently* Kanauj was his fief for *sometime*, where he again manifested rebellious tendencies but was reduced and brought back to Delhi. After *sometime* Awadh was entrusted to him; afterwards Lakhanauti was made over to him.

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[1] *Inscriptions* of *Bengal*, IV, p. (Intro) XII.

[2] *JNSI.*, XL, p. 43.

[3] *History of Bengal* (Ed. Sarkar), p. 52.

[4] *TN.* (Raverty) I, p. 635; II pp. 761 ff.

This summery of the early career of Yūzbak shows how casual Minhāj had been about chronology. Excepting the date 639 AH he has given us just a few *subsequently*-s and *sometime*-s.[1] He has, however, noted how Malik Yūzbak was not only pardoned again and again, but was also given important assignments even after repeated rebellions; this was obviously due to his influencial patron Ulugh Khān. Yazdani has endeavoured in another context to work out the year of Yūzbak's appointment to Lakhanauti by collecting informations about him and other contemporary Maliks.[2] Towards the very end of 639 when Maśūd became the Sultān, Yūzbak was appointed to Tabarhinda and the next year to Lahore where he rebelled. The date of the first royal pardon is to be fixed about 643 when Ulugh Khān returned from a successful campaign against the Mongols. Yazdani suggests that he may have rendered valuable assistance to Ulugh Khān during this campaign. It was probably in 645 that Yūzbak was brought back to Delhi from Kanauj after his second rebellion. Between 645 and 651 he was the governor of Awadh for sometime and Yazdani believes that he had to return to Delhi once again for his rebellious spirit. Stewart was the first scholar to suggest that he was made the governor of Lakhanauti in 651 and Yazdani has accepted the probability of the date. Qanungo, however, prefers the year 650 AH.[3]

At Lakhanauti Yūzbak seems to have succeeded Jalālu-d-Dīn Maśūd Jānī in his first governorship which has been overlooked by Minhāj, but is indicated by an inscription from Gaṅgārāmpur dated in Muharam 647 AH.[4] It shows that between Tamar Khān who died in 644, and Yūzbak who came in 650/651, Maśūd Jānī governed Lakhanauti for sometime. The administrations of Tamar Khan and Maśūd Jānī were uneventful excepting for the circumstance and manner in which the former seized

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[1] Minhaj remembers the year probably because it was an important one in his own career; in 639 AH he was appointed the Chief Qāzi of Delhi for the first time. For the next 10 years he had different assignments mostly away from Delhi, which probably explains why he was unable to collect details of Yūzbak's career.

[2] *Op. cit., Inscription of Bengal*, IV, pp. 5-6.

[3] Vide f. n. 1 above.

[4] *Inscriptions of Bengal* IV, p. 7.

Lakhanauti from Tughril Tughan Khān.[1] This incidence also forms an interesting chapter in the history of the struggle between the Ganga rulers of Orissa and the Turk rulers of Bengal for mastery over the lower and western Rāḍha and provides a background for Yūzbak's activities in this area.

When Tughril had been aggrandizing in the west in Awadh-Kara region the king of Jajnagar,[2] generally identified with the Gaṅga Narasiṁhadeva I, who came to power in 1238 AD, invaded the Turk-occupied areas of south-west Bengal. The Turks at that time exercised some control over the upper part of Rāḍha extending up to the Ajay and sometimes probably upto the Damodar, though the land between the Ajay and the Damodar was not yet properly subdued by them. The strategic outpost of the Turks was situated at Laknor generally identified with Nagar to the north of the Ajay in Birbhum.[3] Beyond the Damodar lay the southern Rāḍha, where a host of unsubdued local chiefs reigned. The western part of the area had recently been included within the Eastern Gaṅga Empire with the border post of Katasin near Bisnupur. In the ensuing conflict between the Gaṅga king and the Turk Malik the latter was disastrously defeated in 641 AH (1244 AD) near Katasin and was driven back even beyond the Turkish fortress of Lakhnor. While he approached his Delhi overlord for help the Jājnagar king promptly followed up his victory by killing the fief-holder of Lakhnor and occupying the upper Rāḍha in 642. Bent upon subjugating Varendri also, Narasiṁha I now advanced upto Lakhanauti and forced Tughril Tughan Khān to retreat within the city. In the meantime at the instance of the Delhi Sultān the governors of Kara and Awadh came to his rescue and it was now the turn of Gaṅga king to lift the seige and retreat. At this critical moment, however, Tamar Khān of Awadh and Tughril fell out and ultimately the former forced the latter to hand over Lakhanauti to him. Tamar Khān died after two years of uneventful rule; neither he, nor his successor J. M. Jānī seems to have done any thing to recover the lost territories and the Orissa king reaped the harvest of his victory for the next ten years. He consolidated his hold over the local chiefs and organised Hoogly and the adjoining areas into a principality (the territory of Azmardan according to Minhāj with Azmardan as its capital)[1] and appointed a feudal chief over it who was called *Sābantar*.[2] A son-in-law of the king of Jājnagar, this chief had alredy distinguished himself in the battle of Lakhanauti.

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[1] *TN.*, II, pp. 136 ff.

[2] *History of Bengal* II (Sarkar), p. 37. This designation may have originated from the place-name, Jājpur, though according to many it generally indicated the kingdom of Orissa. In the 14th cent. however, Orissa and Jājnagar are mentioned side by side.

[3] *Ibid.*

Malik Yūzbak, the new governor of Lakhanauti, was both energetic and ambitious and no wonder he came into clash with the Jājnagar feudatory of Azmardan. Minhāj states that he was successful in the first two encounters, but in the third one he "sustained a slight reverse" in the hands of the infidels of Jājnagar with the loss of an white elephant; this was considered to be so serious that the next year he approached Delhi for help. The Tabaqāt is silent about the outcome of the appeal but we are informed that he left Lakhanauti and fell upon the Jājnagar feudatory of Azmardan. The latter was defeated and driven back and his family, followers and wealth were siezed.[3] Thus the Turkish defeats at the battles of Katasin and Lakhnor were avenged by Yūzbak at the battle of Azmardan and not only the Turk hold over the upper Rāḍha was recovered but also a part of the lower Rāḍha was occupied by the Turks. It is interesting to note that the *habitual rebel*, as Yūzbak has been characteristically labelled by Qanungo,[4] decided in about 651-52 AH to acknowledge publicly the everlordship of Sultān Nāsiru-d Dīn Mahmud of Delhi by issuing a coin in his name.

From what we know of Yūzbak's career so far we can hardly imagine him going out his way (habitual rebel as he was) to recognize the Delhi sovereignty at any time before or after his two successful conflicts with the Orissa army or even during the third conflict. It was only in the year following the third conflict which ended in a *slight reverse* that he decided to approach Delhi for help. This was the moment when he must have felt the diplomatic urge of displaying the loyalty of *al-abd* faithful to Delhi by issuing the Mahmud Yūzbak *tankā.* Previous to his Delhi approach which on numismatic evidence seems to have taken place in 651 or 652 AH he had three engagements with the Orissa army. These might well have extended over a period of more than one year. In the light of these conciderations the probability of Qanungo's suggestion that Yūzbak became the governor of Lakhanauti in 650 should not be ignored. In fact, an analysis of the Delhi politics during the period supports this theory.[1] Towards the end of the year 650 Imadu-d Dīn Rayhān was successful in poisoning the minds of the Sultān and the *maliks* against Ulugh Khān who patronized both Minhāj and Yūzbak. In the first month of the next year Ulugh Khān was ordered to proceed to his fiefs, that is, he was practically banished from the court. In the following months his supporters and proteges were transferred or degraded and the Rayhān faction got the upper hand at the court. Minhāj also lost his prestigious post of the Qāziship of the realm. It thus seems probable that the *habitual rebel* was given this important and responsible appointment as the governor of Lakhanauti in 650 at the latest, that is before the temporary fall of Ulugh Khān from power.

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[1] Minhaj does not describe Azmardan as the capital of Jājnagar.

[2] Qanungo equates the term with Oriya *Sāntra* (*HB*., II, p. 51) but according to H. C. Ray (*DHNI*, I, p. 651) it is the same as Sāmanta Rāe i. e. the feudal chief.

[3] *TN*., II, pp. 763 ff.

[4] *HB*., II, p. 51.

This analysis also explains Minhāj's silence about the expected Delhi response to Yūzbak's appeal for help againgt the Orissa army. The Delhi court was controlled by the Rayhān faction which was too busy in 651 in trying to retain the power it had captured; no wonder it turned a deaf ear to this frantic appeal from Lakhanauti. Yūzbak, however, did not look long in vain for the Delhi help. In his fourth engagement with the Orissa army he won the battle of Azmardan obviously without any aid from Delhi. This glorious victory combined with the fact of Ulugh Khān's absence from the Delhi court and the consequent shakiness of the court policy must have inspired Yūzbak to the crowning act of his career. To celebrate a victory that was more fruitful than the exploits of the Khaljī adventurer half a century ago, he threw off his allegience to Delhi, took the title of ابوالفتح, and declared independence as Sultān Mughisu-d Dīn Yūzbak in 652; this was certainly the most successful rebelion of the habitual rebel. Minhāj narrates that on coming back to Lakhanauti Malik Yūzbak 'began to act contumaciously towards the court and assumed three canopies of the state...'. The coins of Yūzbak, however, suggest that he must have stayed in Nadiā-Azmardan area long enough to secure the Turkish hold over it and declared independence at Nadiā even before he returned to Lakhanauti.

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[1] *TN.*, I, pp. 692-700; II, pp. 826 ff.

Nadia is mentioned on two types of coins of Yūzbak. This holy city of the Senas was the first conquest of the Turks in Bengal. But strangely enough their eventful early history silently passes it by for the next half a century. Minhāj found only one occasion to mention Nadiā and that was in connection with the consequests of Muhammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī.[1] This first conqueror of Nadiā entered south-west Bengal by tortuous route through the forests of Jharkhand and did not make any attempt to subjugate the adjoining regions, but went to Lakhanauti, captured it and concentrated his activities in north Bengal. Those who came after him avoided the difficult route and preferred to enter north Bengal through the Teliagharhi and Sakrigally passes. They made Devkot and Lakhanauti their administrative centers and the ambitious ones aggrandised in the north and north-east. The growth of power of Jājnagar under the Gaṅga kings also may have discouraged any Turkish activity in the southern part of Rāḍha. However, at least one early ruler of Bengal Sultān Ghiasu-d Dīn 'Iwaz had challenged the Jājnagar ruler and secured the Turkish authority over Lakhnor; Minhāj claims that the ruler of Jājnagar paid tribute to him.[2] But even 'Iwaz was not interested in Nadiā. After the battle of Azmardan Yūzbak on the other hand, seems to have selected Nadiā as his temporary head-quarters in south-west Bengal and operated from this place to subjugate the adjoining areas and consolidate his hold over them.

The Tabaqāt mentions two stages of assumption of independence by Yūzbak; on his return to Lakhanauti he assumed three canopies of state red, black and white. He then marched an army from Lakhanauti to Awadh and seized the city and had *khutbah* read for him and styled himself Sultān Mughisu-d Dīn. Once again the preoccupation of the Delhi court with the rebellions of some Indian chiefs and Turk Amirs encouraged and helped him.[3] Towards the end of 652 AH Ulugh Khān was reinstituted but he was still very much harassed by his rival Rayhān who died in Rajab 653 and also by the disaffection of Qutlugh Khān, the step-father of

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1. *TN.*, I, pp. 553 ff.
2. *TN.*, II, pp. 587-88.
3. Vide f. n. 27.

the Sultān, who had been appointed the governor of Awadh in Muharram and enjoyed a considerable following. The recalcitrant chiefs of the Siwalik, Hansi and Mirat regions were finally subdued by the end of 652 and Ulugh now turned towards Awadh. The Delhi army reached Awadh in Muharram 653 and Qutlugh Khan fled with Ulugh Khān in persuit. After a couple of months, however, Ulugh returned to Delhi without meeting Qutlugh and Awadh was probably left without any governor for the time being. Yūzbak seems to have taken full advantage of the situation to make himself the master of the province, though only for a short while. Minhāj explains that a rumour of the approach of the Delhi army forced him to retreat hastily to Lakhanauti; probably he did not want a confronation with his former patron.

Yūzbak's last venture was against Kamrud or Kāmrūp, where both climate and land was unfamiliar to the Turks.[1] It began with phenomenal success and the capital was captured without any serious opposition, as the Rae of Kamrud retired elsewhere. We are informed that Yūzbak collected fabulous wealth, read *khutbah* and introduced Islam there. Nature, however, turned against him in the rainy season. The unidentified king of Kamrud, who was both a diplomat and a military strategist had already put Yūzbak off his guard by pretence of negotiation for submission, with the advent of the rainy season cut off his supplies, surrounded his army and finally struck down the Sultān of Bengal. The magnitude of this *veritable disaster*[2] can only be compared with that of the one which Ikhtyāru-d Dīn Muhammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī suffered but outlived about fifty years ago in his Tibetan campaign.

So ended the career of a restless and rebellious, rash and ambitious Turkish chief who certainly lacked integrity as a servant of the court of Delhi, but who ultimately proved his merit as a bold general and a successful organizer of victories; reckless ambition clouded his judgement and cost him his life. Qanungo's comments on his achievements may serve as a fitting epitaph for Sultan Mughisu-d Din Yūzbak—"The Muslim power of Lakhanauti owed much to the vigour and earnest efforts of Yūzbak, who annexed permanently the whole of Rāḍha as far as the modern northern boundary of the districts of Midnapur and Bankura. This proved in the subsequent period the base of operations of Muslim arms against the decaying Sena kingdom of Eastern and South Bengal."

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1. *TN.*, II, pp. 764 ff.
2. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Ed. Majumdar), p. 388.
3. *HB.*, II, p. 54.

A BILLON COIN OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ

C. SATYANARAYANA REDDY

(Pl. IX. 10)

Recently Mr. S.A. Sattar, a Senior Assistant, N. S. C. sub division of Nekarikallu, Guntur district, (A.P.) kindly brought to my notice a billon coin of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the second ruler of the third dynasty of the Delhi Sultans. The coin may be described as follows :

Metal : Billon (silver + copper)
Weight : 3.35 gms.
Diameter : 1.5 cm.
Shape : Round

Reverse : Legend
al-raji
rahmat Allah
al-karim

Obverse : Legend :
Muhammad Bin
Tughlaq Sultanat
Talasun Wa Sabamatam
but arbain

Junakhan, also known as Muhammad Bin Tughlaq, surpassed his pedecessors in the execution of coins, especially in the calligraphy on them. One of the outstanding features of his coinage is the expansion of the mint system. His coins are known to have been struck at nine mints. They were Ranthambhor, Dhar, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sultanpur, Telingana, Tirhut and Deogir.

The earliest coins issued by him had his father's name Muhammad Tughlaq accompanied by an additional title *al-sahid*. Afterwards he introduced his own name and reintroduced *kalima* which was discarded from the coins after Iltutmish. He issued a new gold coin called Dinar, weighing 200 grains. He also brought into circulation, a silver coin called Adlai, weighing 144 grains. In addition to these he introduced token currency of copper coins declaring them to be legal tender. Many reasons are assigned to this peculiar act. Kublai khan, the Mongol ruler of China had introduced paper currency in his empire. A similar experiment was made in Persia also. Muhammad bin Tughlaq also wanted to make an attempt on those lines. Secondly, he was in want of money to maintain a vast army numbering about 3,70,000. His treasury became empty because of a fall in the revenues of the state. Thirdly, there was a scarcity of silver in the market. Fourthly, the Sultan was a lover of experiments and novel methods. Hence he issued copper tokens which were to be accepted as equivalent of silver coins.

His experiment failed miserably. People did not realise the importance of token currency. For them, copper was copper and it could not replace the silver coin. The Sultan did not make it a monopoly of the state to mint copper coins. The people also minted copper coins in large numbers and paid taxes in them. The state was defrauded. Foreign merchants refused to accept the token currency and so foreign trade came to a stand still. Finally, the Sultan had to repeal his ordinance. He with—drew copper coins from circulation, replacing them by gold and silver ones.

Muhammad issued 25 types of billon coins. The copper coins issued by him are scanty yet they are of twelve types. Most of them are small without any significance.

CHRONOGRAM ON A KACHARI COIN

D. C. SIRCAR

About the end of February, 1983, Shri Vasant Chowdhury, a well-known Calcutta student of Indian numismatics, was good enough to give me for examination a photograph of the reverse legend of a silver coin of the Kachari king Nirbhayanārāyaṇa. There is a chronogram in four *aksharas* giving the date of the issue of the coin in the last line of the legend after the word *Śāke* occurring at the end of the previous line, and I was requested to read and interpret it. The letters of the legend are very clearly but quite carelessely fashioned on the coin so that the reading and interpretation of the chonogram gave me some trouble.

Sometime ago, we suggested, in a note contributed to *JNSI* jointly by myself and Shri Jahar Acharjee, that Nirbhayanārāyaṇa, who ascended the throne on the death of his father in AD 1536, issued the silver coin noticed in that article in the Śaka year 1481 (AD 1559). Sometime previously another note by myself and Acharjee was read at the Annual Meeting of the NSI (1978) held under the auspices of the University of Burdwan, in which a silver coin of Meghanārāyaṇa issued in Śaka 1488 (AD 1566) had been noticed. Thus the difficult chronogram giving the date of the issue of another coin of Nirbhayanārāyaṇa, now under study, must have indicated some date in the fourteenth century of the Śaka era so that its right half would give us the words meaning 41 (i. e. 14 considering the principle of *vāma-gati*). I was, therefore, trying at first to read the left half of the chronogram and succeeded in reading the two *aksharas* as *bhrake* after *Śāke* and was inclined to understand the words as *Śāke-bhra-ke*, i. e. in the Śaka year counted by the words *abhra* (sky = zero) and *ka* ('water' for 'sea'; cf. *jala* for *jaladhi* in Sircar's *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 231). As regards the words for 'sea', it is well known that they were originally understood in the sense of 'four', though late medieval writers often used it to indicate 'seven' also (*ibid.*, pp. 231-32). The words *abhra-ka* would therefore mean 04 (i. e. 40) or 07 (i. e. 70). Because the date Śaka 1440 (AD 1518) would fall before the accession of Nirbhayanārāyaṇa in AD 1536 (i. e. Śaka 1458), the year intended appears to be Śaka 1470 (AD 1548) which may be the thirteenth year of Nirbhayanārāyaṇa's reign, about eleven years earlier than the date of the other silver coin of the king.

After having somehow solved the left or latter half of the chronogram, I fell upon the right or first half which was expected to mean 14, but was found to be a very hard nut to crack because the two *aksharas* could be read only as *cha ge* or *cha[rge]*, and I failed to trace the number 41 (i. e. 14 according to *vāma-gati*) in them. I therefore felt that there may be some error here and was inclined to read *cha[rge]* and correct it to *cha*(*tu**)*r* = *gau* giving *chatuḥ* (i. e. four) and *gu* (earth = one), i. e. 41 meaning 14.

That is how I have read the chronogram *Śāke* = *bhra-ke cha*(*tu**)*rge* (*r* = *gau*) and interpreted it as the Śaka year 1470 corresponding to 1548-49 AD.

A COIN OF ALAUDDIN HUSAIN SHAH OF BENGAL DATED 931 AH—A REJOINDER

G. S. FARID

(Pl. IX. 4-9)

I have gone through the paper, "A Fresh Note on the Recently Discovered Coin of Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal" by Mr. A. M. K. Masumi published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XLIII, 1981, pt. 2, pp. 83-85-

In my original paper, "A Unique Coin of Alauddin Husain Shah of Bengal, dated 931AH," published in the *Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, August 1975 and also "The Duration of Reign of Sultan Alauddin Husain Shah of Bengal in the Light of a New Coin Dated 931AH published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXXIX, 1977, I have discussed the discovery in the light of the historical, epigraphic and numismatic evidences wherever necessary. I have also stated therein that the literary source-materials for the hirtory of the Sultans of Bengal are not adequate and their study has to be supplemented with that of the numismatic and epigraphic sources. Further, the confusion created by the presence of the so-called concurrent issues has also been mentioned.

With regard to Mr. Masumi's doubts regarding my reading of the coin, I must first of all point out that this is not the only coin; there is yet another with a similar reading with a local coin dealer, Mr. Babulal Jain. The condition of both the coins are excellent, and they are in a perfect state of preservation where the dots and dashes appear absolutely clear and intact. There is no space-gap between the digits 9 and 3 as suggested and this can be seen in the plate (Pl. IX. 4) itself. I have also referred in my paper that a coin of Sultan Muzaffar Shah,[1] his predecessor, has a similar defect where Alif of the word Khazana is omitted dated 896 AH (Plate IX. 5), compare with the normal (Plate IX. 6). Hence there is no doubt about the correctness of my reading of the coin.

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[1] E. C. Bayley, Note on two Mohammadan Coins, *JASB* Vol. 42, Part 1, 1873, p. 312.

It appears that Mr. Masumi has not read my paper carefully and does not seem to be aware of the latest researches made on the topic of concurrent issues of Bengal Sultans. A. Karim, an eminent scholar, has proved that the concurrent issues "are the result of his (Nusrat Shah) association in the administration with his father and his father's sharing of the prerogative right with the son."[1]

The same view has been expressed by M. R. Tarafdar who writes, "The scholars propounding the theory of rebellion would have us believe that there was a rebellion in the reign of each of the sultans of the Husain Shahi dynasty—a proposition that finds no support in the sources dealing with the political history of the period under review. Alauddin Husain Shah was too powerful a ruler to allow any rebellion to flourish on the bosom of his kingdom."

Tarafdar further writes, "Moreover had there been so much rebellion in this period, the wonderful progress, which we notice in the political, economic and cultural aspects of the life of the then Bengal, would have been impossible. The coinage of a particular ruler is, no doubt, the indication of sovereign rights exercised by him. But a peculiar custom seems to have prevailed in pre-Mughal Muslim Bengal. Some of the sultans appear to have allowed the crown-prince to issue coins in his own name presumbly to demonstrate to the people that the prince excercising that prerogative, was going to inherit the kingdom. It was almost definitely sure that Nusrat, who was the eldest and perhaps the ablest of the eighteen children of Husain Shah, would succeed his father. The issuing of coin by Nusrat during the life-time of his father may be regarded as actually signalising his being nominated by his father for succession."[2]

From the above it is clear that there was a practice amongst the Sultans of Bengal to associate the princes in the administration and allow them to strike coins in their own names with full regal title as if they were full-fledged monarchs. Thus the striking of the coin was not the cause of any rebellion by any prince. The issuing of the coins by Husain Shah,

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1. *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal*, p. 148.
2. M. R. Tarafdar, Dates of Alauddin Firoz III and the Chronology of the Husain Shai Sultans of Bengal, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Vol. 4, 1959, p. 177.

simultaneously with Nusrat from the same mint, Husainabad, and at the same date 922 AH, points to the fact that the reigning monarch permitted his son to strike coin in order to show the latter's association in the administration of the country and probably at the same time confirming the name of the heir-apparent. It never suggested rebellion.

A Karim, in his '*Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal*' gives a list of the princes who issued coins concurrently with the reigning Sultans.

Masumi's statement that "the actual dates denoting the beginning and the end of his reign are historically unrecorded" (p. 82) is not correct.

That Alauddin Husain Shah ascended the throne in 899 AH is cenfirmed by the existence of his coins and inscriptions of the same date, and also by the absence of the coins and inscriptions of Muzaffar Shah, his predecessor. As regards the end of Husain Shah's rule, I have cited the references of the past historians such as Gholam Husain Salim who gives the date of his death in the year 927 AH; according to Nizamuddin and Blochmann, 929 AH, Ferishta gives the date 930 AH, J. W. Laidlay states that he died in 927 AH, wheras H. N. Wright, Lane Poole, Karim and Tarafdar give 925 AH as the date of his death.

In the light of the above, though controversial historical evidences regarding the end of Husain Shah's rule, we turn towards the numismatic and epigraphical evidences for confirmation. As such the coin of the date 931 AH is highly significant and important and comes to our rescue in determining correctly the duration of Husain Shah's reign.

Much of Masumi's criticism is based on his apparent ignorance of the concurrent issues prevalent amongst some of the Sultans of Bengal. Hence, he gives a list of Nusrat Shah's inscriptions and coins to justify that his accession took place during the twenties of the 10th century Hijra. He writes, "all these sporadic finds in the shape of coins and inscriptions cover the period from 926 to 931 excluding the year 928, as no slab or coin relating to that year has been discevered. In view of these epigraphic evidences, collectively as well as separately, it appears indisputably that Nusrat Shah continued to rule since the year 926 AH or a little earlier as an acknowleded monarch of Bengal throughout till the year 931 and later on." (p. 84)

Masumi's statement is sometimes erroneous and contradictory. At one place, he has mentioned a coin of Nusrat dated 922 AH, as such he should have calculated his reign from the year 922 to 931 AH. But surprisingly, he has simply by-passed that coin. Here again, he is not aware of the fact that there are two coins of the date 928 AH[1] and also of the dates 902 AH[2] and 918 AH.[3] Interestingly enough Ghiasuddin Mahmud Shah, one of Husain Shah's sons also struck coins in the years 912 AH[4] and 923 AH,[5] as well as his grandson Alauddin Firoz issued in 923 AH[6] **(Plate IX. 7,8,9)**. So how Masumi is going to account for all these coins ?

Mr. Masumi further writes, "consequently the single coin of Husain Shah dated 931 AH despite its obvious value is seriously contradicted by all epigraphic evidences noted above." (p. 85). From the above statement it appears that the learned scholar is giving preference to epigraphic evidence in the face of numismatic evidence simply because the former is numerous. The fact, however, remains that the presence of a single coin cannot just be rejected because the epigraphic evidences do not corroberate the present find.

At the conclusion, Masumi has propounded his own theory-a theory of dual rule. He writes, "the contradiction between the earlier epigraphic discoveries and this new one would be avoided only when this theory is accepted that the last few years of Sultan Husain Shah or the early years of the reign of his son Nusrat Shah were the period of dual rule in Bengal." (p. 85).

The concurrent issues were baffling to the earlier scholars also and some of them described these a result of rebellion and now a new theory of dual rule has been put forth as a solution. As we do not find any history of rebellion likewise, we do not find anything regarding dual rule anywhere. Here the matter has become more complicated by the presence of the coins of Mahmud Shah and Alauddin Firoz Shah stated above. Hence, the theory of dual rule is far fetched in the present context.

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[1] A. Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal*, p. 118.

[2] G. S. Farid, The duration of the Reign of Alauddin Husain Shah of Bengal in the Light of the New Coin, *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIX, 1977, pp. 145-148.

[3] A. Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal*, p. 118.

[4] An unpublished coin in the collection of G. S. Farid.

[5] An unpublished coin in the collection of G. S. Farid.

[6] An unpublished coin in the collection of G. S. Farid.

Sultan Husain Shah was the reigning king, his sons and grandsons were only helping him in the administration. Nusrat's status as a full-fledged monarch begins only after his father's death in 931 AH on the evidence of Husain Shah's latest coin bearing the above date.

REVIEW

Kushāṇa Silver Coinage, by Prof. B. N. Mukherjee; published by Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1982; Indian Museum Monograph No. 13, pages 92, with a good bibliography and Index; 9 plates at the end, price Rs. 75.00.

Professor B. N. Mukherjee is an authority on the Kushāṇa history having good commond over the sources. Therefore, a book dealing with the Kushāṇas, from his pen is always a welcome. The silver coins attributable to the Kushāṇas are extremely rare and very often their attribution and genunity are doubted. Dr. Mukherjee took up the subject daringly and advocated convincingly.

Peicing together the informations scattered at various places and placing in a presentable form he came to the conclusion that 'the Kushāṇas actually struck silver coins. In fact, the earliest series of coins of the independent Kushāṇa kingdom consisted of silver' (p. 75). This king, as we know him from his coins, was Miaos and he ruled as a Kushāṇa king before Kujula Kadphises. He struck silver coins on Attic weight standard. The author recognises as many as two groups of his silver coins falling into five sub-groups in all. He ruled in the country outside India.

The next ruler, Kujula Kadphises, has been attributed with at least one variety of obols and the learned author believes that it may be taken to have been minted in Ta-hsia (Eastern Bactria, to the south of Kuei river (Oxus), or in the Yueh-chih territory to the north of that river or in the Western Bactria (around Bactra). Kujula possessed all these regions to the north or north-west of Hindukush (p. 37).

Similarly he attributes three silver coins found from Taxila (Sirkap) excavations found in a hoard of 21 coins, to Wima Kadphises. According to him these drachms were pre-reformation issues of Wima and were 'meant for circulation in the lower Indus country' (p. 45).

Wima Kadphises is given credit to reform the existing currancy system and to have put it on sound footings which was followed by all his successors, atleast upte Vāsudeve I. All these Kushāṇa kings, viz. Wima, Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva I are, according to the author, known to have issued silver coinage, though in a very small number. The author observes that 'these die-struck pieces, bearing names of Kushāṇa kings, may be considered as products of genuine Kushāṇa mints.' (p. 52).

Prof. Mukherjee deserves our congratulations for putting together these informations and comming to the conclusion that the Kushāṇas did issue silver coinage.

But the most interesting part of his contribution is his explanation of the reasons for 'the meagreness of the number of known specimens' of the silver coinage of the Kushāṇas. In the light of the vast number and varieties of gold and copper coins of the Kushāṇas it is a natural curiosity to learn from the pen of a scholar of the status of Prof. Mukherjee the reason for the paucity of the silver coinage of the Kushāṇas. Before discussing it he established that the Kushāṇa silver coins, discussed earlier, were not forged but genuine ones. Again he postulates that as the silver was abundantly available in India during the Kushāṇa period the paucity of silver coinage cannot be on that account. He observes that this phenomenon be explained through the operation of Gresham's Law according to which bad money ousts the good money from the market. The silver currency before the Kushāṇas in the North-West is said to have debased and, therefore, to issue silver coinage in that area was not useful and profitable. Then he postulates that the silver currency of the Kushāṇas was issued from the mints located in and for the people of the lewer Indus country because 'the people of the lower Indus country...were probably not yet used to the gradual debasement of silver coinage already witnessed in the North-West, and would natuarlly have been *prone to judge any silver coin on its intrinsic merit and not on its curreney value.*' (p. 42) (Italics mine). He further observes that the lowere Indus country was under the Kushāṇas. It was Wima Kadphises who conquered this area because according to him 'this area is referred to as Shen-tu and also as T'ien-chu in certain Chinese texts.' (p. 44). For this he refers to his article published in *Our Heritage*, 1967, Vol. XV, Pt. I, pp. 5 f. But there he seems to have confused in the identification of the terms. Shen-tu or T'ien-chu of the Chinese texts appears to denote the same meaning as Hi"dush of the Persipolis and Naqush-i-Rustam and, Hi"dauv of the Hamadan inscriptions of

Darius (c. 522-486 BC); (see *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 7, 10 and 8 respectively). Prof. Sircar equates it with India, Valley of the Indus. We feel that it may roughly be identified with Pakistan and Indian area of Punjab. This is because that in the same Chinese text the Punjab area is mentioned as Pan-chi'i. Dr. Mukherjee holds that it (Pan-chi'i) 'baffles all attempts at identification' (*Our Heritage*, *op. cit.* p. 7). Here we want to point out that Pan-chi'i, to the east of Shen-tu, can be identified with the Punjab or *Pañchanada deśh* because the same text (HHS 118.9b) states that 'If one goes from the Yueh-chih country of Kao-fu in south-western direction one reaches the Western Sea, and in the east one reaches the country of P'an-ch'i, all this (belongs to) the territory of Shen-tu'. Thus there can be no doubt that modern Pakistan and Indian Punjab area was known to the Chinese as Shen-tu, named after the great Indian river Sindhu, as Indians called it. Although the Achaemnians can not be said to have extended over all this area but they called their occupied portion with the name of Hi^{n}dush. Perhaps to a foreigner, vaguely, the whole area beyond the river Indus was Sindhu pronounced in their own particular way as Shen-tu or Hi^{n}du. This is evident from a work of uncertain date the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*. It is stated there that a Jain teacher Kālaka, 'after being tormented by the king of Ujjayini, fled to the *kūla* called *Sagakūla*, *kūla* of the Sakas....Kālaka induced them to accompany him to Hindukadeśa (*Hindugadesa*).' (Know, *CII*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. xxvii). It seems that the controversy over the date of this work is based on the use of this term also. But in the light of the above discussion the antiquity of the term should not be made a point for this. Here it appears that the term Hindukadeśa for the country of the Kathiawar and Ujjayini (also) was used because it was popular among the Śakas as such. Alternately Pan-chi'i can be equated with the Panchāla region.

Thus Prof. Mukherjee's identification of the Shen-tu with the lower Indus country does not appear to be tenable. Similarly, his theory of the house of Chasṭana (including his son Jayadāmana and grand-son Rudradāmana I) having served under the Imperial Kushāṇas also seems unacceptable. There is not even a slightest indication about this in the inscriptions and currency of these kings. Furthermore the learned author maintains that all the silver coins issued by the Kushāṇa kings, from Wima Kadphises onwards, were minted in the lower Indus country for circulation in that area. But so far not a single such coin has come from that part of the country.

The learned author mentions the Mathurā incription of year 28 of the time of Huvishka where an endowment was said to have been created out of the thousand and one hundred silver coins called *purāṇas* (p. 54). But he maintains 'that the *purāṇas* mentioned in the Mathurā epigraph should be taken as non-Kushāṇa silver pieces...minted officially or unofficially in the Kushāṇa period itself.' (p. 55). Here the author accepts the possibility of silver coins being minted unofficially in the Kushāṇa period itself and thus ignores the operation of his sharpest weapon, the Greshman's Law which he uses to explain the meagreness of the number of the Kushāṇa silver coins. He also does not take into consideration the fact that the endowment was created from 1,100 silver coins in the Mathurā region which means that these were acceptable to the guilds of traders of Mathurā as current currency. This fact again negates the Law of Greshman. But actually the Law of Greshman is operational only when the authority of the government has very strong hold over the currency system and uses the token system of currency also. During those old days coins were accepted or rejected by the people, especially the traders, on its intrinsic value only and not 'on the currency value' (p. 42). To compensate the irregularity in the weight of the handmade coins they were waighed in bulk after duly assaying the metal of the coin. This system was used by the Indian traders since the ancient times till the Britishers introduced machinemade coins of accurate weight standards.

Apart from these very few points of disagreement (at places we might be wrong) with the views of the learned author it must be admitted that he has investigated the problem very thoroughly and we have to accept the claim of the author as true that 'it is the first ever attempt at a comprehensive discussion on Kushāṇa silver coinage'. The plates at the end of the monograph are excellent and useful. The printing and production of the work is of high quality.

T. P. V.

II

Mathurā And Its Society—The Śaka-Pahlava Phase, by Prof. B. N. Mukherjee, published by Firma K. L. M. Private Ltd. Calcutta, 1981, pages 304 including Index, 4 Plates. Price Rs. 125.00.

As evident from the title the work deals with the history of the Mathurā and its society during the rule of the Śaka-Pahlava Kshatrapas in the first century AD. Prof. Mukherjee, the author, observes that 'the chronology of the Śaka-Pahlava rule in Mathurā began in the last quarter of the first century BC. It ended by some time of the reign of the Kushāṇa king V'ima Kadphises' (p. 88). The first chapter deals with the advent of the Śaka-Pahlava rule in Mathurā under Mahākshatrapa Rājuvula. In the second chapter the author deals with the chronology and in the third the end of their rule. The fourth one discusses some problems connected with the chronology while the fifth one deals with the society of Mathurā upto the end of the Kushāṇa age. There are four Appendices dealing with the list of inscriptions referring to the Śaka-Pahlava rulers, Abhisheka Lakshmī motif on coins of Mitra rulers of Mathurā, List of coin types of the Śaka-Pahlavas of Mathurā, and the Evidence of Reh inscription and the presence of the Indo-Greeks in the Gangetic valley, respectively. As usual of Prof. Mukherjee's works each chapter is profusely foot-noted and serves as mine of informations.

The period of the Śaka-Pahlavas, followed by the Kushāṇas, in Indian history has many problems to solve. At the same time it can be said to be one of the most formative periods for the Indian society. With the advent of these foreign tribes and with their willingness to adopt and accomodate with the society and religions of the country a process of acculturation begain which resulted in their final assimilation. They were influenced by the Indian society and in return they also contributed to it in many ways. Prof. Mukherjee has given a thorough thinking to the subject in this book. While dealing with the society he has included the period of the Kushāṇas also and thus he has been able to do full justice with the subject.

Prof. Mukherjee believes that 'from the point of view of the religious life of the people, Mathurā became a meeting point of Brahmanical cults (imported mainly from the "west"), Budhism (imported from the "east") and the Yaksha and few other cults (bearing *inter alia* traits evolved locally)'. Similarly, with the extention of the Scytho-Parthian rule, hetrogenous elements were also introduced into the society of the region concerned. Women were allowed to take part in religious activities. Even courtisans (*gaṇikā*) are known to have been the lay deciple of ascetics. The analysis of the author shows that there was a general continuity of the society based broadly on Indian norms in the Scytho-Parthian age. In fact they themselves became great patrons of the Indian religion and culture.

We want to take this opportunity to discuss some of the points on political history. The learned author believes that Rājuvula was, at least nominally, a subordinate ruler under the Saka-Pahlava king Azilises. This opinion of the author seems to have been based on the title of Mahākshatrapa or Kshatrapa held by Rājuvula, Śodāsa and others. This title has been considered to be a subordinate one. This belief of the author is reflected in his consideration of Chashṭana and his family to be subordinate to the Kushāṇas, at least in the beginning. But the Kshatrapas of Mathurā and the West never mentioned any overlord. There is not even slightest indication in their inscriptions or coins that they held a subordinate position. Their authority to issue coins in their name without any mention of the name of their overlord (either on obverse or on reverse) is, we believe, a sufficient proof of their independent position. The Mathurā lion capital inscription mentions some of the Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas, and even whole of the Śakasthāna; but there is not even slightest indication of the overlord. From the inscriptions of the time of the Śaka-Pahlavas and the Kushāṇas we learn that it was a costumary to mention the overlord in some form or the other. But this factor is absent in the inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Mathurā as well as Western Kshatrapas.

A word about the Reh inscription discussed in the Appendix IV. This fragmentary inscription was discovered at Reh in Fatehpur district of U. P. in 1979. Engraved on a sandstone Śivaliṅga only three lines are preserved. The fourth line is present only in the upper part of the letters which is not possible to restore. Prof. G. R. Sharma reads the name of the Indo-Greek king Menander in this fourth line. Disagreeing with him Prof. Mukherjee holds that 'the Reh inscription should be considered, in the present state of our knowledge, to refer to a Scytho-Parthian ruler' (p. 249). But so far no king of this group is known to have the titles of

Mahārāja, *Rājarāja*, *Mahata*, *Tratara*, *Dhramika*, *Jayanta* and *Apra*(*tihata-chakra* ?) as found in the Reh inscription. On the other hand a Kushāṇa inscription from Kamra, dated in the year 20 of the era of Kanishka, gives similar epithets of *Maharaja*, *Rajatiraja*, *Mahata*, *Tratara* and *Jayata* etc. to a Kushāṇa king. It is well known that the Kushāṇas were very fond of attaching all sorts of titles with their names. Considering the palaeography of the Reh inscription I have suggested that this may be refering to Kushāṇa king Wima Kadphises who flourished in late first century AD. (See *Rangavalli : Recent Researches in Indology*, Delhi, 1983, pp. 77-80). There are reasons for it. The Reh inscription is engraved on a Śivaliṅga. Wima Kadphises is known to have been a worshipper of Śiva and calls himself a *maheshwara* on his coins. We believe that it was Wima who conquered the north India extensively and that is why his successor Kanishka starts his reign from this region, as evident from his Brāhmī inscriptions dated in his early years. The palaeography of the letters of the Reh inscription should belong to this period.

The printing of the book is not satisfactory and there are many proof errors as well.

T. V. P.

III

The Copper Coins of India, Including Bangladesh, Burma, Napal and Pakistan, by W. H. Valentine, in two parts, pages 266 with profuse illustrations, several maps, published by Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1983 (Reprint) (first published in 1914), Price Rs. 200/- per set.

W. H. Valentine wrote this book about seventy years ago with a view to benefit the coin collectors in India. The author claims to bring 'together in one work from every source all that has been done on the subject.' I have yet to see a book published in recent times which can claim like this. Hence the need for republication of the work after such a long time.

Copper coins are among those which are still most abundantly found and, therefore, this book is destined to benefit all types of coin-collectors-beginners as well as amateur-even today. The work is divided into two parts. In the Part I the author first gives a brief outline of the history of of India (which of course has become out of date for the reader of ninth decade of the twentieth century). Then follows the lesson in scripts found on coins. Detailed tables of alphabets of Persian and Nāgari scripts and the numerals can initiate any one who cares to go through them. There is also a comparative table of the Mohammadan and Christian years giving exact date of the beginning of the Hijri era into Christian era. Then in the Section I the author describes the copper coins of Bengal (including Bangla Desh) Burma, Kuch Bihar, Nepal, Sikkim and Manipur. In Section II he takes up the coins of U.P. and Garhwal. This is followed by a general Index for Part I.

The second part begins with the history of Punjab and a table of Gurmukhi alphabets. Then he takes up the description of the copper coins of Punjab, Bahawalpur, Baluchistan, Khans of Kalat, Chamba (followed by a table of Dogri-Ṭākri alphabets), Kashmir, Jammu, Patialā and Sirmur. At the end of this part also there is an Index.

The author has limited himself to describe the copper coins of there or four centuries before his times but he has illustrated them profusely. The Publishers have brought out the book very nicely in clothe bound covers. It is hoped that the book will be very popular among the coin collectors as well the scholars.

T. P. V.

IV

Coin Collecting in Northern India, by Charls J. Rodgers, pages 135 + i-iii + i-iv with 6 plates in line-drawings, (first published in 1894). Reprinted in 1983 by Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, Price Rs. 65.00.

This book by C. J. Rodgers was mainly a collection of his 12 articles appearing in the *Pioneer* on coin collecting in northern India. Mr. Rodgers served in India for about thirty years and was the Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India. Thus he had acquired great experience of the subject. His book was not only very popular and extensively quoted but also prescribed in some universities for numismatic studies.

The author begins with his experience in an Indian bazzar where he noticed a money-changer with 'a large heap of cowries and a vast array of ordinary pice piled up'. He examined them and 'came to this natural conclusion that every piece of copper before me must have been struck *by some king, in some place, and in some year* or the other'. Thus he starts his story and like an excellent story teller he narrates the history of coinage from the earliest times. He assures the reader that 'I shall avoid, as for as possible, all long names and scrientific terms, and remember that I am writing in India and for those dwelling in India'. He further observes that 'I feel confident that what I have to bring forward will prove of some help to those who have been collecting for some time and who have met with many difficulties'. There are six plates of illustrations of the coins of many series. In the end there is a general bibliography on Indian coins (which has now become out of date) followed by key to plates and Index. It is hoped that the book will be well received by the scholars and the general readers.

T. P. V.

V

The Coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum, (or, second title : *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum : The Moghul Emperors*), by Stanley Lane-Poole, pages clii+401 with 33 half-tone plates, (first published in 1892) Reprinted by Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1983. Price Rs. 280.00.

It is an uneasy situation for a humble student of Indian numismatics, like me, to review the famous book of Stanley Lane-Poole which has been occupying a celebrated place among the scholars for about nine decades. This book was out of print and in great demond for several decades and the publishers deserve our congratulations for bringing it out after such a long period. Generally, in Indian reprints the quality of the half-tone plates are very poor. But here in this case the publishers have not neglected this aspect and the printing of the plates is very good. Similarly the quality of the production is also excellent. It is hoped that the book will be very well received by the scholars and coin-collectors.

T.P.V.

COMMUNICATIONS

Dear Sir,

We have just read the review of our book *"The Coins and Banknotes of Burma"* in *JNSI* Vol. XLIII, Pt. II, p. 139-142, by T. P. Verma. Several quite critical statements made by the reviewer are incorrect and unjustly denigrate our work.

In the first place Dr. Verma states that the book is "merely a compilation of all that was said and written earlier", "it does not bear out any original contribution." This is absolutely not the case. There are many facts given which are the result of our own researches and have not been published by anyone else. To cite just a few cases–the opening of the Mandalay Mint in 1865 and the supply of machinery and dies from Birmingham, the varieties of Mindon's silver and copper coins and his rare early Kyats. Also, much background information on all the coins and banknotes issued from 1937 onwards is new and sometimes corrects commonly held assumptions on dates of issue. We could give many more examples, as anyone who reads the book will verify.

Most of the review is concerned with the early coins dealt with in Chapter 3. We stated in that Chapter (p.9) that we would be presenting only a summary of the main types, referring to more detailed studies by others. We did not suggest any coins were issued as early as 500 BC, but rather about 400 AD or later. However the chronology of these early coins is still a matter of debate and it is very possible, in the light of future research, that a better classification will emerge. Incidentally, we do not blindly follow Mitchiner, but in Chapter 3 have quoted from his works and given alternative quotations where possible. In the other seventeen chapters Mitchiner is rarely mentioned, if at all.

More seriously, we wish to take issue with Dr. Verma on two points. First, considerable doubt was expressed by him on our statement that the Calcutta Mint supplied King Bodawpaya with rupees for use as currency in 1797 (our coin 8.1). It is absolutely certain that Captain Cox of the East India Company delivered 20,000 silver rupees to Bodawpaya, struck at Calcutta, in that year, and that some were put into circulation. Recent evidence discovered in the India Office Library in London has confirmed that Bodawpaya requested 10,000 rupees (half the amount eventually drlivered) for use as currency, late in 1795. The design is unknown but on delivery he commented that the designs of the dies were "out of date". So the old Pyu emblems of Damaru/Srivatsa are not at all unlikely. Further, X-ray fluorescence analysis of three specimens of the 1797 coins (8.1) gave a silver purity of around 39% compared with over 99% with nearly all the Pyu coins. This evidence will be pnblished in a future issue of the Spinks Numismatic Circular, London.

Second, concerning the Government of India Banknotes from the Rangoon Circle, it is unfortunately Dr. Verma who is mistaken about facts of the recent past, not ourselves. Banknotes were itsued from the Rangoon Circle at least by early 1884. Evidence for this, kindly supplied by Dr. P. L. Gupta, reinforces other data available in the India Office Library. Full details will be found in an article in the Spinks Numismatic Circular (Part 1 April 1983, Part 2 to follow shortly). The date of 24 February 1893 is merely when Upper Burma was taken under the Rangoon Circle, after the third Anglo-Burmese war of 1885. The theory that this was the opening of the Rangoon Circle is an error probably first suggested by Das Gupta in 1927, and repeated by Dr. Verma.

Finally, anyone wishing to buy a copy of our book should write to Dr. M. Robinson, c/o The Lancashire and Cheshire Numismatic Society, Friends Meeting House, 6 Mount Street, Manchester 2, England. The price is £ 10.50 plus postage and insurance, details on request.

M. Robinson and L. A. Shaw

PROCEEDINGS

The 70th Annual Conference of the Numiamatic Society of India was held at Vikram University, Ujjain on the 7th, 8th and 9th November, 1982. The opening session of the Society was held in the hall near the department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Vikram University. After prayers and garlanding Dr. K. K. Kemkar, Vice-Chancellor of the Vikram University, welcomed the guests and delegates. His welcome address is as follows :

Mr. President, Chief Guest, Honourable Minister Dr. Rajendra Jain, Delegates, Ladies & Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure in extending a cordial welcome to you all on behalf of the Vikram University as well as Reception Committee. We are greatly honoured by your acceptance of our invitation to hold the 70th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India at Ujjain. Luckily, the Vikram University is also celebrating its Silver Jubilee, and thus this Conference will add much grace to it.

I am highly impressed by the fact that the Numismatic Society of India was founded so early in 1912 and both Indian, as well as foreign scholars from England, France, Germany, Australia and America have been contributing to the study of Indian Numismatics. Not only college and University teachers, but even the I.C.S. and I.A.S officers, generals and captains, lawyers, businessmen, engineers and doctors are the members of this august body. This shows that Indian Numismatic Studies have attracted a large number of intellectuals irrespective of their spheres of activities.

I think that the Numismatic Society of India has made a very appropriate choice by holding the 70the Annual Conference at Ujjain in M.P. The region of Madhya Pradesh is very important from the point of view of numismatic studies. A large number of ancient coins have been discovered at sites such as Ujjain, Eran, Maheshwar, Vidisha and Tripuri and some of them have been described in the catalogues of British Museum, London and the Indian Museum, Calcutta. If these are properly examined, they will certainly throw fresh light on the history of this region in prticular and of India in general. I am confident that the assembled scholars will get an opportunity of examining the coins of this region.

To this conference, which includes so many historians, I need not talk at length on the glorious history of Ujjain. According to traditions, this city is associated with Vikrama and Kalidasa. Taking these facts into consideration, the University was established after the name of Vikramāditya in 1957. Similarly, the Kalidasa Akademi was established in 1979, In early times, trade and commerce flourished in Ujjain because of the frequent and smooth communications with the outside world. Ujjain became so prosperous that it is said to have surpassed even Amaravati, the, ciry of gods. This is also confirmed by the frequent discovery of coins. The 'cross-and-basll' symbol type of coins was so common here that it has assumed the name of 'Ujjaini Coinage'.

Besides, Ujjain remained a city of great learning and religion. The Mahābhārata and epics tell us that Ujjain was a great seat of learning, Shrikrihna and Balarama came here to study various sciences from the great Guru Sandipani. Mahākātyāyana, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Śūdraka, Bāṇabhatta, Daṇḍin etc. had a close association and deep affinity with Ujjain. These great authorities spoke high about the cultural and economic grandeur of this city. Rājaśekhara refers to Kāvyakāra Parīkshā, a system by which the genius of rival poets was estimated. A tradition, though of very late origin, tells that the court of Vikramāditya, the popular hero of Ujjain, had the galaxy of Nine-gems including Kālidāsa, Amarasimha and Varhāmihira. The tradition is unbelievable as these nine learned authorities were hardly contemporay. Yet it is true that they all remained in Ujjain at different periods.

Ujjain has been regarded as a remarkable religious centre. It had been one of the seven holy towns of ancient India. All the main religions of India and their prominent sects simultdnously flourished in Ujjain. In particular, Saivism showed a tremendous influence in this area. The temple of Mahākāla is of great antiquity. It is a worth-visting temple. Besides, there are a number of other sites which possess religious or historical importance. Harasiddhi temple, Gopal Mandir, Vṛidha-Śāla, Bharihari Cave, Kālika temple, Kaliya-Dah Palace, Avanti Pārśvanātha temple are some of these.

One of the features of this Conference at this place is a small exhibition of coins, which, I am sure, will prove of great general interest. We are under obligation to the Archaeolgical Department of M.P. and to some esteemed individuals for contributing exhibits.

I am aware of the fact that we have not been able to make your stay here as comfortable as we would have liked to, but I request you to beare with any shortcomings in the arrangement made by us. In conclusion, once again, I offer you a most cordial welcome on behalf not only of the Vikram University but also of the people of Ujjain.

Then Dr. Rajendra Jain, the Hon'ble Minister for Co-operation and Food and Supplies, Govt. of Madhya Pradesh read his Inaugural speech.

Mr. President, Dr. K. K. Kemkar, Vice-Chancellor of the Vikarm University, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Let me first express my thanks to the Vikram University authorities for having done me the honour by inviting to inaugurate the 70th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India. I do feel it would have been better if some other person possessing higher academic qualifications were to inaugurate it. Judging from the academic standards, I am anxious that I am nothing before the galxy of learned scholars assembled in this Conference. Even then, I have been bold enough to accept the invitation, because I love learning and education. Throughout my career uptill now, I considered myself to be the student, and in one way or other, I am associated with the educational institutions.

I consider Numismatics to be the Science which deals with ancient coins. The study of Indian Numisimatics specially of early coins may be traced back to 1738 A. D. when two coins of Graeco-Bactrian kings were pudlished at St. Petersberg in Russia. In India, the first notice on the subject of Numismatic research occurs in 1790 A. D. when the discovery of Raman coins was referred to in the 2nd Volume of Asiatic Researches. Orginally, these ancient coins were collected for the sake of pleasure and curiosity. Gradually, the organised study of coins started, and there are stages in its growth and development. The period of 1850-1900 is of discoveries and decipherment, of 1900-1940 is of classification and survey, and during post 1940 period the numismatic material has been utilised for historical writing. The foreign scholars like James Prinsep, Wilson and Lassen are regarded pioneers of Indian Numismatics. This Numismatic Society of India has been working for the last 72 years with the co-operation of both Indian and foreign scholars. Now this Society must have assumed a definite form and shape, and its objectives must have been clear. The foreign scholars like Cunningham, Rapson Allan and Whitehead have contributed a lot to the advancement of Indian numismatics. For encouraging international understanding such mutual studies are essential.

Numismatics became a subject of study in the Universities; Calcutta in 1918, and Banaras afterwards by the efforts of our two great leaders namely Sir Asutosh Mukherji and Madan Mohan Malaviya respectively when they introduced the subject of Indology. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University and R. D. Banerji of the Banaras Hindu University were the well-known scholars of Indian Numismatics. Now, the subject of Numismatics is taught in most of the Universities of India.

I am really impressed by such annual conferences of the academic bodies because they contribute to the advancement of knowledge. They provide a forum to scholars not only to place their new discoveries, and to discuss their problems, but also help in co-ordination of their results. The contact with great scholars here gives initative and inspiration to the students like me towards learning.

I wish that just like before, the progress of the Indian Numismatic studies must continue because there is still much work to be done. The ancient coins are found in large number in State treasuries. They have been placed in the Museums. All these should be properly examined by the experts. This is possible only when there is a co-ordination in the efforts between the government and the teachers of the Univerities and Colleges.

Most of the books of Numismatics are published in English because there is a wide market. My humble suggestion is that these books should be written in Hindi and regional languages also so that masses may know the historical importance of these ancient coins. A large number of ancient coins are melted by the people because of the material gains. This can be stopped by the people when they know the historical value of these coins.

When I visited Russia, America and European countries, people inquired me not of Indian science and technology, but of Indian Yoga, religion and philosophy. I think that in this materialistic world, the old Indian values even in the form of scripts, literature, religion and art should be preserved and encouraged. The great educationalists of our country like Dr. Jayakar, Dr. Radhakrishnan and Dr. D. S. Kothari have laid stress on the Faculty of Indology as a compulsory branch of study at every Indian University. This is essential for the harmonious development of the personality of the students. I am glad to learn that the Foundation Course just introduced in Indian Universities contains also the topics of Indian Culture.

Our Civil Servants should be well acquainted with the cultural traditions of our country. Long back, the Uttar Pradesh Government has introduced this subject in the syllabi. As known to me, the Union Public Service Commission is considering the proposals for introducing this subject in Civil Services examination.

Now I come to the region of M. P. and my own town Ujjain. Madhya Pradesh is very rich in cultural heritage. Several ancient monuments, inscriptions and coins are found here. Looking at this, the government has established the Department of Indology in the Sagar, Vikram, Jiwaji, Bhopal and Kheragarh universities. This subject has also been introduced in some colleges.

Ujjain remained continuously a great seat of learning, culture and religion. It is famous as the city of Vikrama and Kalidasa. The temple of Mahākāla is well-known. Some years back, the excavations were conducted here by the Archaeological Department, Government of India. The reports should be published so that the scholarly world may know about this great ancient city. Coins are frequently found in Ujjain. I think that the University may consider to purchase them for the University Museum, as they may prove to be useful for the glorious history of this great town.

Really, it gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity of inaugurating the 70th Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India and to meet the learned delegates coming from the different parts of the country.

After this the Chairman of the Society, Prof. Lallanji Gopal introduced the President of the Session, Prof. Upendra Thakur, who due to his illness could not attend the session. Prof. A. V. N. Murthy read Prof. Tuakur's Presidential Address in his absence which has been printed in this Journal elsewhere. Then Prof. K. C. Jain, the Local Secretary and Head, Department of A. I. H. C. & Archaeology, Vikram University thanked the guests and the delegates.

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Members,

I am glad to present before you this brief report of the activities of our Society at this Session at Ujjain especially after a severe heart attack which I had last summer when I was in Ceylon. Last year in October we met at Sambalpur and since then we have maintained our steady progress.

You will be gald to hear that in the field of publications we have made our Journal upto-date. Our thanks are due to our General Editor Prof. Lallanji Gopal and our Editors. Within the span of two years we have published four volumes of our Journal, i.e. Vol. XLI (1979) in April, 1981, Vol. XLII (1980) in May 1981, Vol. XLIII, Pt. I (1981) in November 1981, Vol. XLIII Pt. II (1981) in September 1982 and Vol. XLIV (1982) in November, 1982. This last volume has been dedicated to the memory of Achārya Ramesh Chandra Majumdar as it was decided in our last session. Now I hope we will be able to bring out our Journal timely in two parts separately and our members will get it regularly. I wish to note here that the Publications Committee has decided to publish Review of books on all subjects of Indological studies. This will help to build up our library also. I will request our members to send their own publications and encourage their colleagues to send their books (two copies) for Review. Our Memoir No. 8 "FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN INDIAN AND INDIGENOUS C INS," edited by Prof. A. M. Shastri, has also come out. I am sorry that due to press difficulties it took such a long time to come out.

We have an ambitious plan of publications. Several of our Monographs and Memoirs are out of print since long. With the advancement of knowledge it is imperative that before bringing them out again these should be brought upto date. Our learned members may offer themselves for the task so that the Publications Committee may take up the task of their publication in suitable manner.

We are approaching Central Government and the State Governments for grants for reprinting the back volumes of our Journal and some outstanding books like, Bayana Hoard, Coinage of the Gupta Empire and Technique of Casting Coins etc. Members are requested to come forward and cooperate and help us in getting suitable grants.

But, from the above it should not be inferred that everything is so smooth and well. I will especially draw your attention to the finances of our Society. The Auditors Report and Estimate Budget has been circulated. From this it will appear that the financial position of the Society is not very sound. The Society is running in a deficit of Rs. 55, 836.69. In my reports during last years I have drawn your attention towards this state of affairs. May we sit together and give our thought to devise ways and means to improve the situation.

Although the Banaras Chapter of the Society has not been very active this year but the idea was liked by other members also. Dr. D. Raja Reddy from Hyderabad has expressed a desire to have a similar Chapter for Hyderabad. We wish to encourage such Chapters in other cities also.

So far we could receive bio-data from 71 members only out of more than 775 members. It is requested that members should send their bio-data soon so that further steps be taken in this matter.

Friends ! three years back at our Banglore session, we had adopted the new Constitution for our Society and you had elected this team of Office Bearers which is completing its term this year. Now I call you to use your right of vote without favour and fear to elect the new team of your Office Bearers.

This 70th Annual Conference of the Society is being hosted under the auspecies and hospitality of the School of Studies in Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Vikram University, Ujjain. It has been possible only due to the keen interest and efforts of Prof. K. C. Jain, our Local Secretary. We gratefully wish to record our sincere thanks to the Vice-Chancellor and Prof. K.C. Jain and other authorities of the Vikram University for hosting this session of the Numismatic Society of India.

Ladies and Gentleman ! I have presented before you this Report but this is not all. There might have been some more things which escaped our attention and we may get occasion to discuss them time and again. During our functioning we may have ommitted errors but I want to emphatically assure you that our sole purpose has been to serve the cause of numismatic studies. I share with you a strong sense of feeling that our Society has a role to play in the academic world and let us all strive to achieve the goal. Awake, arise and stop not till the goal is reached. *Uttishthata jāgrata prāpyvarān nibodhata.*

UPENDRA THAKUR

Proceedings of the Excutive Council of the Numismatic Society of India held on 8.11. 1982 at 8.30 P. M. in the office of the Head of the department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Vikram University, Ujjain M. P. Following members were present :—

1. Prof. Lallanji Gopal (*in chair*)
2. Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee
3. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta
4. Dr. (Mrs) Shobhana Gokhale
5. Prof. A. N. Lahiri
6. Prof. A. V. N. Murthy
7. Sri K. B. Tiwari
8. Dr. Paras Nath Singh
9. Dr. A. L. Yadava
10. Dr. J. P. Singh
11. Dr. T. P. Verma

1. At the start of the meeting Prof. K. B. Tiwari moved a motion of thanks to the Chairman of the Society for managing the affairs of the Society so efficiently. All the members joined him.

2.	To confirm the minutes of the last meeting of the E. C. held on 18th October, 1981 at Sambalpur and the Emergent Meeting of the E. C. held on 15th April 1982 at Varanasi. :	The minutes of both the meetings of the Executive Council were read and confirmed.
3.	To approve the General Secretary's Report. :	General Secretary's Report was read and approved.
4.	To approve the Auditor's Report. :	Auditor's Report was read and discussed. It was decided that steps be taken to remove Auditor's objections. It was approved.
5.	To approve the draft Budget for the years 1982-83 & 1983-84. :	The draft Budget was read and approved after discnssion. It was further decided to request the members to approach their respective governments for enhancement of the grants etc.
6.	To review the position of Library, Museum and Laboratory. :	It was resolved that the Library, Museum and Laboratory be improved.
7.	To consider the resignation of Sri Buddhu Ram, Peon-cum-Gardener. :	It was resolved that the resignation of Sri Buddhu Ram be accepted.
8.	To consider the case of appointment in place of Sri Buddhu Ram. :	It was resolved that Sri Paras Nath Yadava, who was working in the leave vacancy of Sri Buddhu Ram be appointed peon-cum-gardener on probation of one year on his present salary.

9.	To consider the letter of M/s Ghanshyam Das, Chartered Accountant, for enhancement of the Audit Fee.	The letter of M/s Ghanshyam Das was read and considered. It was resolved that Auditor's Fee be raised from Rs. 250/- to Rs. 300/- with the condition that they will not ask for separate fee for separate certificates for the money already audited.
10.	To consider the letter of Dr. H. V. Trivedi.	The letter of Dr. Trivedi was read and noted.
11.	To elect the President for the next session.	Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta was unanimously elected President for the next session of the Numismatic Society of India.
12.	To consider the following invitations for the venue of the next session of the Society : 1. Sri G. C. Chaturvedi, V. C. Gorakhpur University, Gorakhpur. 2. Dr. S. C. Ray, Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta. 3. Prof. K. D. Bajpai, Member, Governing Body, Prachya Niketan, Bhopal. 4. Dr. P. L. Gupta, Organising Director, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Bombay. 5. Prof. K. V. Raman, Head, Deptt. of A. I. H. C. & Arch, Madras University, MADRAS to Prof. A. V. N. Murthy.	The Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India, appreciated the guesture of the inviters. After a brief discussion it was decided that the next session be held at Madras.
13.	To elect the Honorary Fellows of the Society.	It was decided that following be elected Honorary Fellows of the Society : 1. Prof. A. K. Narain 2. Prof. G. H. Hare.
14.	To nominate the Election officer.	The Executive Council nominated Mr. T. N. Badhya to act as Election Officer for the election of the Office Bearers and the members of the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India.

15. Any other matter with the permission of Chair.	:	With the permission of Chair following decisions were taken unanimously by the Executive Council :
A. Review of the Resolution No. 11 of the Executive Council held on 27th March 1980 at Bangalore.		A1. It was decided that the designation of Sri Krishna Kumar Srivastava, who was formerly Accountant-cum-Head Clerk, be Accountant-cum-Superintendant in the same scale of pay. A2. It was further decided that on the receipts etc. the signature of Accountant is sufficient. The General Secretary/Treasurer may not be required to sign each and every receipt.
B. Review of the Resolution No. 6 of the Executive Council held on 9th August, 1980 at Varanasi.		B. It was decided that the Local Editor be given a contingency of upto Rs. 200/- per volume.
		C. It was further decided that a committee be appointed of the followings to look into and recommend Service Rules for the employees of the Society :— 1. General Secretary 2. Treasurer 3. Joint Secretary.
		D. Prof. A. V. Narsimhmurthy moved a vote of appreciation of the services of Dr. T. P. Verma as Editor of the Journal and Jt. Secretary of the Society. All approved it.

The Business meetting of the General Body of the Numismatic Society of India was held in the hall of the Deptt. of A. I. H. C. & Archaeology, Vikram University on 9th November, 1982 at 8.30 A. M. Following members were present :—

1. Sri T. N. Badhya	Bangalore
2. Dr. (Mrs.) Bela Lahiri	Calcutta
3. Prof. K. D. Bajpai	Sagar
4. Prof. G. H. Khare	Poona
5. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta	Calcutta
6. Sri V. G. Athalye	Bijapur
7. Dr. Asim Kumar Chatterjee	Calcutta
8. Dr. K. Chaudhary	Jaunpur

9. Dr. O. P. Singh	Jaunpur
10. Prof. K. B. Tewari	Hoshangabad
11. Dr. Haldhar Pathak	Hoshangabad
12. Dr. A. L. Yadava	Varanasi
13. Dr. B. R. Mani	Varanasi
14. Sri B. Vasudeva Rao	Mysore
15. Sri Sheo Prasad Singh	Varanasi
16. Sri Onkar Nath Singh	Varanasi
17. Sri K. P. Ramananda Rao	Bhopal
18. Sri P. P. Kulkarni	Nagpur
19. Dr. Devi Prasad Singh	Azamgarh
20. Sri Narsingh Narain Singh	Varanasi
21. Dr. K. B. Kaushik	Gorakhpur
22. Sri I. C. Tated	Betul
23. Mrs. Kumudini Acharya	Bhubaneswar
24. Sri Surinder Singh Arora	Hoshangabad
25. Sri K. M. Savla	Bombay
26. Dr. Y. B. Singh	Jammu-Kashmir
27. Dr. M. P. Singh	Varanasi
28. Mrs Kalpana Ghosh	Calcutta
29. Sri Onkar Nath Rai	Varanasi
30. Dr. (Km.) Sarita Handa	Varanasi
31. Mrs. Dolly Mukherjee	Calcutta
32. Km. Veena Misra	Sagar
33. Dr. Sarjug Prasad Singh	Gaya
34. Sri N. D. Dwivedi	Allahabad
35. Km. Alka Tiwari	Hoshangabad
36. Smt. Meenakshi Tiwari	Hoshangabad
37. Sri Mauji Ram Bhardwaj	Nohar
38. Sri Arvind Kumar Singh	Varanasi
39. Sri Sushil Kumar Pathak	Varanasi
40. Sri Akhand Pratap Singh	Varanasi
41. Dr. O. P. L. Srivastava	Jhansi
42. Mrs. V. M. Savla	Bombay
43. Sri Jiwan Upadhyay	Varanasi
44. Sri Kaushalesh Singh	Varanasi
45. Sri Ranjit Pratap Singh	Varanasi
46. Dr. Awadhesh Narayan Singh	Varanasi
47. Sri Om Prakash Pandey	Varanasi
48. Sri Ravindra Nath Singh	Varanasi
49. Dr. Mohd. Naseem	Varanasi
50. Dr. P. N. Singh	Varanasi

51.	Prof. Salil Kumar Ganguli	Calcutta
52.	Sri Pukhraj J. Surana	Bombay
53.	Dr. S. J. Mangalam	Pune
54.	Dr. (Mrs) Shobhana Gokhale	Pune
55.	Sri N. Kothari	Calcutta
56.	Sri S. Sethia	Calcutta
57.	Sri K. H. Kachhia	Baroda
58.	Sri B. L. Mankad	Baroda
59.	Sri P. V. Dholkia	Junagarh
60.	Dr. Bhashkar Chattopadhyay	Burdwan
61.	Sri S. C. Bhattacharyya	Calcutta
62.	Sri Pranabananda Jash	Birbhoom
63.	Smt. Savita Sharma	Varanasi
64.	Dr. T. P. Verma	Varanasi
65.	Prof. A. V. Narsimh Murthy	Mysore
66.	Dr. Jai Prakash Singh	Varanasi
67.	Prof. Lallanji Gopal	Varanasi
68.	Prof. K. C. Jain	Ujjain
69.	Sri Chandu K. Maneck	Nagpur
70.	Sri Sundar Lal Tripathi	Bhopal.

In the absense of the President, Prof. Lallanji Gopal presided over the delibaertions.

1.	To confirm the minutes of the last meeting of the General Body held on 20th October 1981 at Sambalpur.	:	The minutes were read and confirmed.
2.	To condole the deaths of the members of the Society.	:	Condolences for the following deceased members of the Society were observed. 1. Sri D. P. Chandria, London 2. Rev. John Francis Rowland South Africa.
3.	To present the General Secretary's Report.	:	The General Secretary's Report was read by Jt. Secretary Dr. T. P. Verma in the absence of the General Secretary. And it was approved.
4.	To present and psss the Budget for the year 1982-83.	:	The Budget for the year 1982-83 was presented by the Treasurer Dr. J. P. Singh and it was passed by the General Body unanimously.
5.	To pass the Auditor's Report.	:	The Auditor's Report was presented by the Treasurer Dr. J. P. Singh and it was passed,

6. Any other matter. : Following announcements were made by the Chairman.

1. The Executive Council has elected Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta as the next President of the Society.
2. The Executive Council has decided that the next conference of the Society will be held at Madras-
3. The Executive Council has elected following members its Honorary Fellows :—
   1. Prof. A. K. Narain
   2. Prof. G. H. Khare
4. The Seminar on Numismatography will be carried over to the next session at Madras.
5. Members are requested to send their Bio-data for who-is-who in Indian Numismatics.
6. Following members presented coins for the Society's Museum :
   1. Sri B. Vasudeva Rao, Mysore
   2. Sri K. P. Ramanand Rao, Bhopal
   3. Sri K M. Savla, Bombay.

7. To elect the office bearers and members of the Executive Committee of the Society. ; Mr. T. N. Badhya, the Election Officer announced that after due procedures following Office Bearers and members of the Executive Council were elected unanimously.

1. Prof. A. V. Narasimha Murthy —*Chairman*
2. Dr. Bhaskar Chatterjee, *Vice-Chairman*
3. Prof. Lallanji Gopal, *General Secretary*
4. Dr. Jai Prakash Singh, *Treasurer*
5. Prof. K, C. Jain *Member*
6. Dr. S. C. Bhattacharya ,,
7. Dr. Haldhar Pathak ,,
8. Sri B. Vasudeva Rao ,,
9. Dr. Sarjug Prasad Singh ,,
10. Dr. P N. Singh ,,
11. Dr. (Mrs.) Sobhana Gokhale ,,
12. Dr. A. L. Yadava ,,
13. Prof. A. N. Lahiri ,,
14. Prof. K. B. Tewari ,,

15. Dr. M. P. Singh *Member*
16. Dr. Y. B. Singh ,,
17. Sri Inder Chand Tated ,,

The meeting of the General Body ended with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

Proceedings of the Executive Council meeting held on 9th November, 1982 at 6.30 P. M. at the Vikram University, Ujjain. Following members attended the meeting :

1. Prof A. V. N. Murthy *(in Chair)*
2. Prof. Lallanji Gopal
3. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta
4. Sri K. B. Tiwari
5. Sri B. Vasudeva Rao
6. Prof. A. N. Lahiri
7. Prof. K. C. Jain
8. Dr. Haldhar Pathak
9. Dr. J. P. Singh
10. Dr. M. P. Singh
11. Sri Inder Chanda Tated
12. Dr. A. L. Yadava
13. Dr. Y. B. Singh
14. Dr. (Smt) Shobhana Gokhale
15. Dr. P. N. Singh
16. Dr. Sarjug Prasad Singh
17. Dr. T. P. Verma

Following resolutions were passed :—

1.	To confirm the minutes of the last meeting.	: The minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Council were read and confirmed.
2.	To appoint the Chief Editer and three Editors.	: Prof. Upendra Thakur was appointed Chief Editor and Dr. T. P. Verma, Dr. S. K. Bhatt and Dr. O. P. Singh were appointed Editors by the Executive Council unanimously.
3.	To appoint Joint-Secretary.	: Dr. T. P. Verma was appointed Joint-Secretary on the joint recommendations of the Chairman and General Secretary. (Then Dr. T. P. Verma was called in to attend the meeting).
4.	To consider the letter of Dr. S. S. Nigam of the Dept. of A. I. H. C. & Archa. of Vikram University regarding the (1) opening of Ancient	: A. The letter was considered and Prof. K. C. Jain was requested to record the resolution which will be sent to the respective authorities.

Indian History & Culture as a subject in various degree colleges and (2) introduction of A. I. H. C. & Archa. as a subject in State Service Commission.	B. It was further resolved that formal short duration courses in Numismatics be opened in universities.
5. To form following Committees according to constitution. I. Awards Committee. II. Publication Committee. III. Library, Museum & Laboratory Committee.	The following Committees were formed : I. AWARDS COMMITTE : 1. Chairman 2. General Secretary 3. Treasurer 4. Chief-Editor 5. Prof. K. D. Bajpai 6. Dr. K. K. Dasgupta 7. Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale 8. Dr. A. H. Siddiqi 9. Dr. Sarjug Prasad Singh II. PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE : 1. Chairman 2. Chief Editor 3. Treasurer 4. General Secretary (Convener) 5. Joint Secretary 6. Three Editors. EXPERTS : 7. Dr. Y. B. Singh 8. Dr. K. C. Jain 9. Dr. A. N. Lahiri III. LIBRARY, MUSEUM AND LABORATORY COMMITTEE 1. Chairman 2. General Secretary (Convener) 3. Joint Secretary 4. Dr. J. P. Singh 5. Dr. M. P. Singh 6. Sri N. Shankarnarayana 7. Dr. P. N. Singh.

Ghanshyam Das
B. Com. F. C. A.
Chartered Accountants

AUDITORS' REPORT

In terms of our separate report we have examined the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st March, 1982 and the annexed Income & Expenditure Account for the year 1981-82 of the Numismatic Society of India, P. O. Hindu University, Varanasi with the books vouchers and explanations and informations produced and furnished to us and found the same in accordance therewith, subject to that :—

1. Bank Reconciliation Statements were not produced to us and the balance of the Banks could not be verified by us.
2. Interest on Fixed Deposits and N. S. C. were not provided.

CK, 37/39, Bansphatak
VARANASI
15th Sept., 1982

Sd/ **Ghanshyam Das**
Ghanshyam Das & Co.
Chartered Accountants

BALANCE SHEET AS AT

Figure of the Previous Year	CAPITAL & LIABILITIES		Rs. P.	Rs. P.
	SPECIAL FUND :—			
35,721.09	Balance as per last Balance Sheet		35,721.09	
	Add Interest		10,054.66	
			45,775.75	
	Less transfer to General Fund		13,200.00	32,575.75
3,000.00	Furniture Fund			3,000.00
8,000.00	Library Fund			8,000.00
34,600.00	Museum Fund			34,600.00
2,500.00	Strong Room Fund			2,500 00
45,680.98	Building Fund		45,680.98	
	Add Interest		20.50	45,701.48
2,347.90	**Booklet Scheme :**		2,347.90	
	Add Interest		79.59	
			2,427.49	
	Less :			
	Photo	2,222.00		
	Stationery	155.49		
	Audit Fee	50.00	2,427.49	— —
1,548.34	**Reserve Fund :**			
	Balance		1,548.34	
	Addition during the year		6,483.75	
	Add Interest		99.31	
			8,131.40	
	Less transfer to General Fund		1,000.00	
			7,131.40	
	Less Bank Charges		16.60	7,114.00
903.33	**Suspense Account :**		903.33	
	Addition during the year		81.10	984.43
24,016.59	**General Fund :**			
	Balance		24,016.59	
	Transfer from Reserve Fund		1,000.00	
	Transfer from Special Fund		13,200.00	38,216.59
1,58,318.23			Total Rs.	1,72,693.05

Sd. UPENDRA THAKUR
General Secretary

Sd. KRISHNA KUMAR
Superintendent

Treasurer

31st MARCH 1982

Figure of the Previous Year	ASSETS & PROPERTIES	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
27,965.00	**Building :—**	27,965.00	
	Less depreciation for the year	700.00	27,265.00
1,156.05	**Dies :—**	1,156.05	
	Less depreciation for the year	115.05	1,041.00
2,061.50	**Furniture :—**	2,061.50	
	Less depreciation for the year	206.50	1,855.00
145.00	**Typewriter :—**	145.00	
	Less depreciation for the year	15.00	130.00
5,457.65	**Library :—**	5,457.65	
	Less depreciation for the year	768.65	4,689.00
40.18	**Duplicator :—**	40.18	
	Less depreciation for the year	6.18	34.00
925.83	**Electrical Equipments :—**	925.83	
	Less depreciation for the year	92.83	833.00
25,111.80	**Museum :—**	25,111.80	
	Less depreciation for the year	2,510.80	22,601.00
1,030.75	**Strong Room :—**	1,030.75	
	Less depreciation for the year	51.75	979.00
	Cash and Bank Balances :—		
2,347.90	Booklet Scheme S. B. a/c No. 14985	— —	
15,000.00	Building Fund Fixed Deposit	15,000.00	
418.39	Building Fund Saving Bank a/c No. 21236	438.89	
15,720.00	Special Fund-N. S. C.	15,000.00	
4,000.00	Special Fund Fixed Deposit	— —	
1,043.46	Special Fund Saving Bank a/c No. 15170	118.12	
— —	Special Fund Cheque in hand	2,500.00	
5,400.00	Reserve Fund Fixed Deposit	5,400.00	
1,548.34	Reserve Fund Saving Bank a/c No. 17161	7,114.80	
8,500.00	Reserve Fund Fixed Deposit	8,500.00	
1,538.32	General Fund Current a/c	1,630.91	
332.15	Cash in hand	43.72	55,746.44
38,575.91	**Excess of Expenditure over Income :—**	38,575.91	
	Addition during the year	18,943.70	57,519.61
1,58,318.23		Total Rs.	1,72,693.05

As per our separate report on that date.

Varanasi
15th Sep. 1982

Sd. GHANSHYAM DAS
GHANSHYAM DAS & CO.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS.

INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

Figure of the Previous Year	EXPENDITURE	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
779.86	To Postage & Telegrame.		3,798.87
29,270.02	,, Salary (including D. A. Allowance & Provident Fund)		34,544.68
	,, Publication Expenses :		
12,344.90	Cost of Journal		16,041 95
2,600.45	,, Sundry Expenses		574.46
1,683.35	,, Travelling & Conveyance		1,877.40
250.00	,, Audit Fee		250.00
195.25	,, Electric & Water Supply		175.80
800.88	,, Stationery		1,635.36
1,027.00	,, Telephone Charges		792.00
11,709.19	,, I. C. H. R. Research Project :—		
	Salary to Senior Research Investigator	3,900.00	
	Office Assistant (Part Time)	1,300.00	
	Stationery	709.55	
	Books	— —	
	Travelling Allowance	59.45	
	Bank Charges	22.00	5,991.00
	,, Depreciation on Assets :—		
717.00	Building	700.00	
102.87	Electric Equipment	92.83	
128.45	Dies	115.05	
229.00	Furniture	206.50	
16.10	Typewriter	15.00	
9.3.00	Library	768.65	
7.08	Duplicator	6.18	
2,790.20	Museum	2,510.80	
54.25	Strong Room	51.75	4,466.76
65,668.85		Total Rs.	70,148.28

Sd. **UPENDRA THAKUR**
General Secretary

Sd. **KRISHNA KUMAR**
Superintendent

Treasurer

FOR THE YEAR ENDED ON 31st MARCH, 1982.

Figure of the Previous Year		INCOME	Rs. P.	Rs. P.
13,376.95	By	Subscription		14,241.05
200.00	,,	Advertisement		200.00
22.81	,,	Banking Charges		41.54
146.06	,,	Donation		78.66
11,837.69	,,	Sale of Publications		23,285.14
93.00	,,	Coin Review		28.00
210.00	,,	Numismatic Supplement		130.00
	,,	GOVERNMENT GRANTS :—		
4,750.00	,,	Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, for printing of Journal of 1979.	— —	— —
12,000.00		Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, Research Project		5,700.19
600.00		Tamilnadu Government 1979-80 & 1980-81	1,200.00	
1,000.00		Punjab Government 1981-82	1,000.00	
1,000.00		Gujarat Government 1980-81	500.00	
1,000.00		Orrisa Government 1980-81 & 1981-82	2,000.00	
600.00		Madhya Pradesh Government	— —	
500.00		Uttar Pradesh Government-Education 1981-82	500.00	
500.00		Uttar Pradesh-Cultural—1	— —	
— —		Bihar Government 1980-81	300.00	
— —		Maharastra Government 1980-81	1,000.00	
— —		Andhra Government 1981-82	1,000.00	7,500.00
17,832.34	,,	Excess of Expenditure over Income		18,943.70
65,668.85		Total Rs.		70,148.28

As per our separate report on that date.

Varanasi
15th Sep. 1982

Sd. GHANSHYAM DAS
GHANSHYAM DAS & CO.
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS.

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR THE YEARS

INCOME

Sl. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1981-82	Estimates for the 1982-83	1983-84	Remarks
	By **Balance**	332.15	43.72		
	I. **General Fund**				
1.	By Subscriptions	14,241.05	10,000.00	10,000.00	
2.	,, **Government Grants**				
	(i) Andhra Govt. 1981-82	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	
	(ii) Gujarat Govt. 1980-81	500.00	1,000.00	500.00	
	(iii) Madhya Pradesh Govt.	—	500.00	500.00	
	(iv) Orissa Govt. 1980-82	2,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	
	(v) Maharashtra Govt. 1980-81	1,000.00	2,000.00	1,000.00	
	(vi) Bihar Govt. 1980-81	300.00	600.00	300.00	
	(vii) Punjab Govt. 1980-81	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	
	(viii) Uttar Pradesh Govt. 1981-82	500.00	500.00	500.00	
	(ix) Uttar Pradesh Cultural Affairs	—	500.00	1,000.00	
	(x) Tamil Nadu Govt. 1979-81	1,200.00	1,200.00	600.00	
	(xi) Central Govt.	—	4,000.00	4,000.00	
	(xii) Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi for the Printing of the (a) JNSI Vol. XLI (year 1979)	—	5,000.00	5,000.00	
	(b) Research Project	5,700.12	5,032.95	—	
3.	By Banking Charges	41.54	—	—	
4.	,, Suspence Account	81.10	—	—	
		27,563.88	33,332.95	26,400.00	
	II. **Special Fund**				
5.	By Donation	78.66	500.00	500.00	
6.	,, Deligation fee	—	250.00	250.00	
7.	,, Advertisement	200.00	550.00	550.00	
		278 66	1,300.00	1,300.00	

1982-83 & 1983-84 INCLUDING ACTUALS OF 1981-82

EXPENDITURE

Sl. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1981-82	Estimates for the 1982-83		Remarks
			1982-83	1983-84	
	I. General Fund				
	Balance (if over drawn)	—	—	3,07,566.33	
1.	To Salary, D. A. & Contribution towards Provident Fund	34,544.68	35,893.00	36,897.90	
2.	To Auditor's Honorarium	250.00	250.00	300.00	
3.	,, Joint-Secretary Honorarium	—	2,218.55	900.00	
4.	,, **Office Expenses**				
	(a) Stationery	1,635.36	3,000.00	3,000.00	
	(b) Telephone	792.00	1,000.00	1,000.00	
	(c) Postage	3,798.87	4,000.00	4,000.00	
	(d) Contingent	574.46	2,500.00	2,500.00	
	(e) Electric Bills Equipment	175.80	3,000.00	3,000.00	
	(f) Advertisement	—	250.00	250.00	
	(g) Banking charges	—	250.00	250.00	
5.	,, Printing of Journals etc.	16,041.95	20,000.00	20,000.00	
6.	,, Travelling Allowance and Conveyance	1,877.40	3,000.00	3,000.00	
7.	,, Library Books etc.	—	30,000.00	30,000.00	
	Library Books Binding Charge	—	1,500.00	1,500.00	
8.	,, Laboratory	—	250.00	2. 0.00	
9.	,, Museum	—	50,000.00	50,000.00	
10.	,, Furniture	—	2,500.00	2,500.00	
11.	,, Annual Conference and Medals etc.	—	5,000.00	5,000.00	
		59,690.52	1,64,611.55	1,64,347.90	
	II. Special Publications				
12.	To I. (a) Reprinting of back Volumes of the Journal	—	15,000.00	15,000.00	
	(b) Reprinting of the Memoirs	—	5,000.00	5,0 0.00	
	(c) Reprinting of the Monograph	—	5,000.00	5,000.00	
	(d) ,, of Technique of Casting Coins	—	10,000.00	10,000.00	
	(e) ,, of Bayana Hoards	—	25,000.00	25,000.00	

BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR YEARS

INCOME

Sl. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1981-82	Estimates for the 1982-83	Estimates for the 1983-84	Remarks
	III. Publication Fund				
8.	By (i) Sale of Publications	23,285.14	15,000.00	15,000.00	
	,, (ii) Sale of Numismatic Supplement	130.00	100.00	100.00	
	,, (iii) Coin Review	28.00	50.00	50.00	
		23,443.14	15,150.00	15,150.00	
9.	**Loan From Special & Reserve Funds**	14,200.00	—	—	
	Total	65,817.83	49,826.67	42,850.00	
	Deficit	—	3,07,566.33	5,73,164.23	
	Grand Total	65,817.83	3,57.393.00	6,16,044.23	

Sd. KRISHNA KUMAR
Superintendent

Sd. T. P. VERMA
Joint Secretary

Sd. J. P. SINGH
Treasurer

1982-83 & 1983-84 INCLUDING ACTUALS OF 1981-82

EXPENDITURE

Sl. No.	Particulars	Actuals of 1981-82	Estimates for the 1982-83	1983-84	Remarks
II. (a)	Printing of Memoirs	—	10,000.00	10,000.00	
	Printing of Monographs	—	10,000.00	10,000.00	
(b)	Seminar Proceedings	—	15,000.00	15,000.00	
(c)	Bibllography	—	10,000.00	10,000.00	
(d)	Corpus	—	15,000.00	15,000.00	
		—	1,20,000.00	1,20,000.00	
13.	To Building Fund	—	75,000.00	25,000.00	
14.	,, Reserve Fund	—	—	—	
15.	,, Special Fund	—	—	—	
16.	,, Bank	92.59	—	—	
17.	,, Research Project I. C. H. R.	5,991.00	—	—	
		6,083.59	75,000.00	25,000.00	
	Balance	43.71	—	—	
	GRAND TOTAL	65,817.83	3,59,611.55	6,16,014.23	

Sd. KRISHNA KUMAR
Superintendent

Sd. P. VERMA
Joint Secretary

Sd. J. P. SINGH
Treasurer

APPENDIX I

Sl. No.	Name with `esignation	Actuals of 1981-82			Estimates For The Years					
					—1982-83—			—1983-84—		
		Salary	D. A	P. F.	Salary	D. A.	P. F.	Salarly	A. A.	P. F.
1.	Sri Krishna Kumar Srivastava *Superintendent*	8,400.00	4,577.40	700.02	8,850.00	4,822.80	737.50	9,180.00	5,051.40	765.00
2.	,, Prahlad Naraynn Pandey *Office-Assistant*	3,357.00	2,467.10	279.67	3,432.00	2,522.40	286.00	3,504.00	2,572.00	292.00
3.	,, Madan Mohan Srivastava *Office-Assistant*	3,234.96	2,377.30	269.47	3,306.97	2,434.80	275.58	3,384.00	2,487.20	262.00
4.	,, Budhu Ram, *Peon*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	,, Paras Nath Yadav, *Peon*	2,424.33	1,782.00	—	2,463.00	1,810.60	205.25	2,426.00	1,834.80	208.00
5.	,, Radheshyam, *Peon*	2,439.50	1,793.00	203.23	2,478.00	1,821,60	206.50	2,514.00	1,898.00	209.50
6.	,, Ram Autar, *Sweeper* (Part-Time)	240.00	—	—	240.00	—	—	240.00	—	—
	Total	20,095.49	12,996.80	1,452.39	20,769.97	13.412.20	1,710.83	21,318.00	13,843.40	1,736.50
				34,544.68			35,893.00			36,897.90

Scale of pay : (i) Superintendent : 550-25-750-EB-30-900; (ii) Office-Assistant : 260-6-290-EB-6-326-8-366-EB-8-390-10-400
(iii) Peon : 196-3-220-EB-3-232.

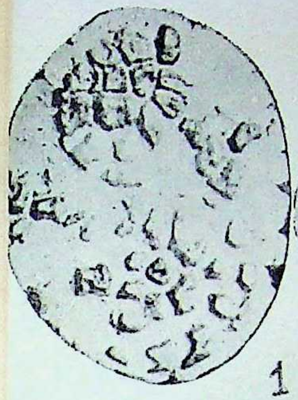
Plus Dearness Allowance according to the Central Government Rules.

Krishna Kumar
Superintendent

Dr. T. P. Verma
Joint Secretary

Dr. J. P. Singh
Treasurer

PLATE I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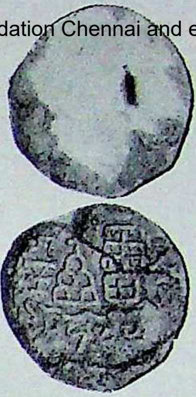
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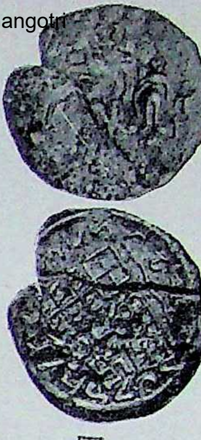
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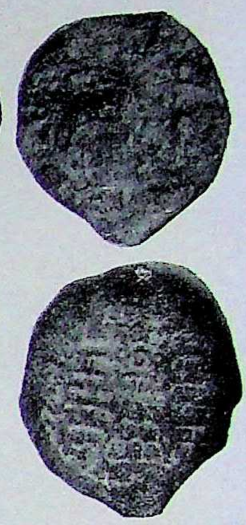
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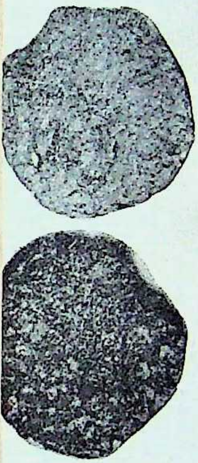
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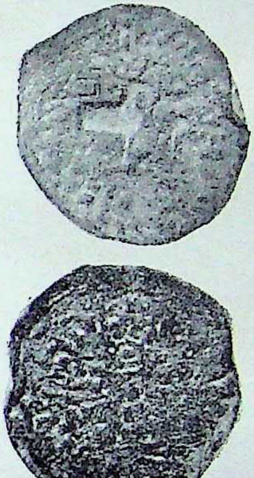
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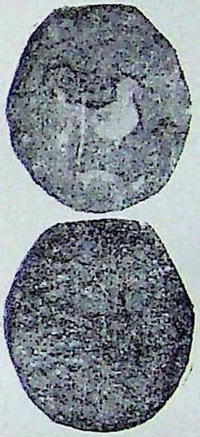
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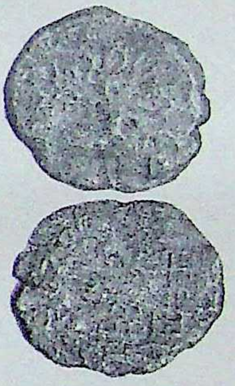
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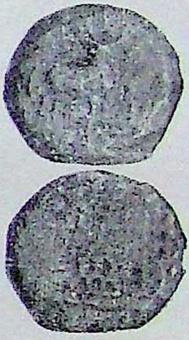
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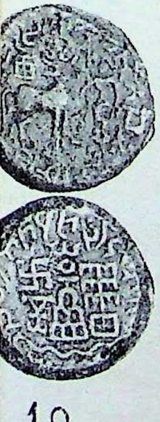
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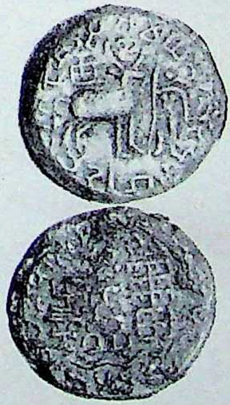
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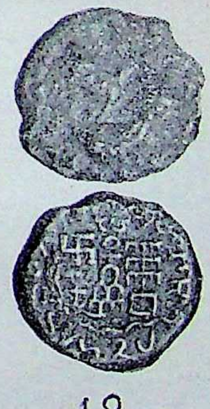
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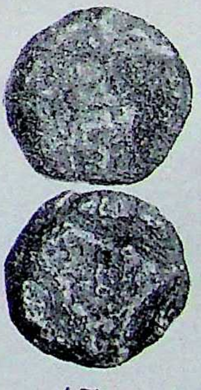
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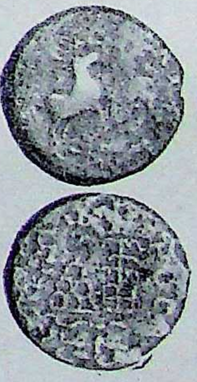
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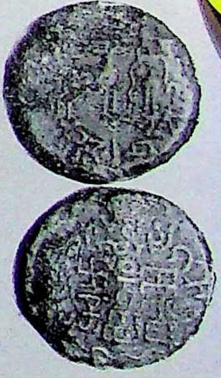
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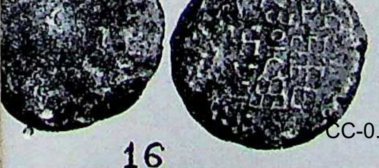
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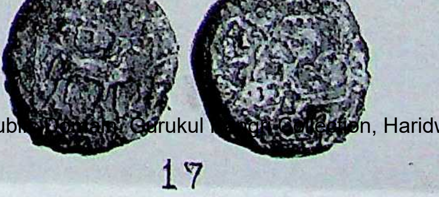
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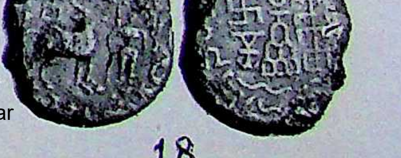
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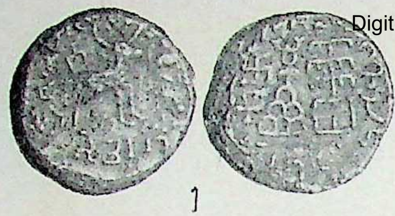
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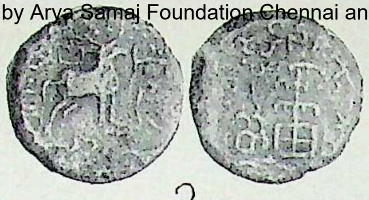
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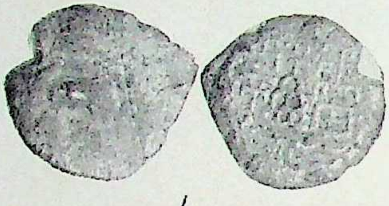
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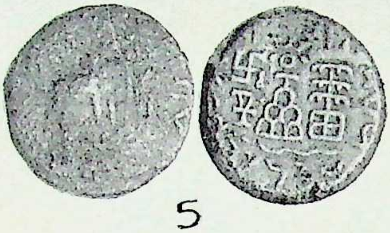
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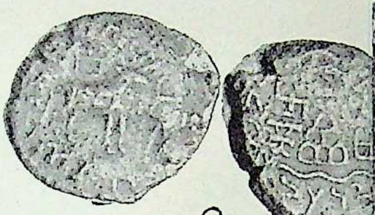
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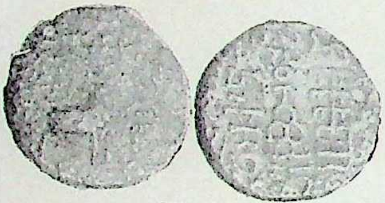
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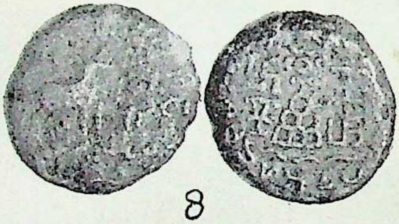
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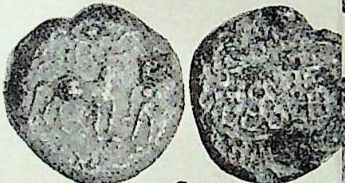
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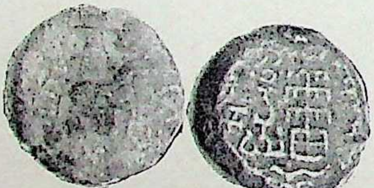
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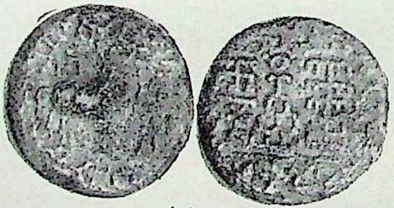
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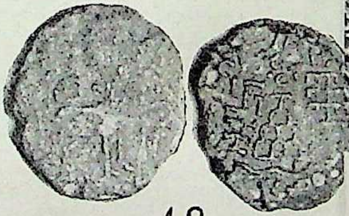
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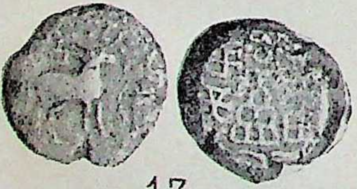
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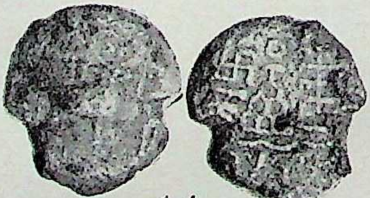
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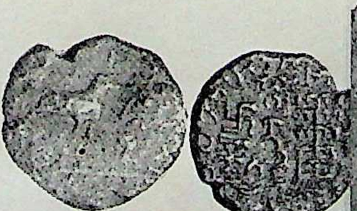
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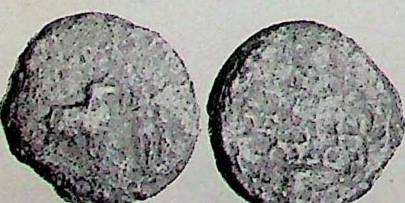
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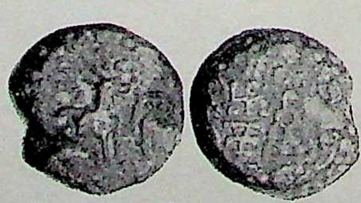
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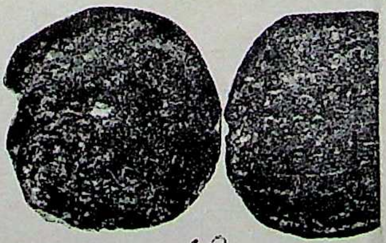
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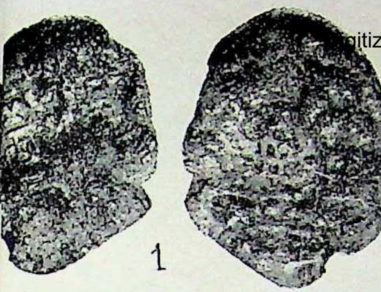
1-18 Some Kuninda coins

1.5 S

II A

PLATE III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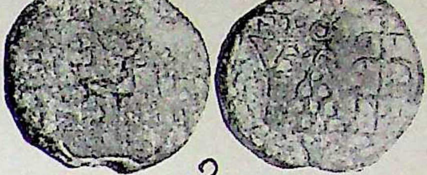
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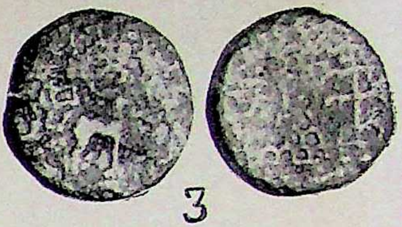
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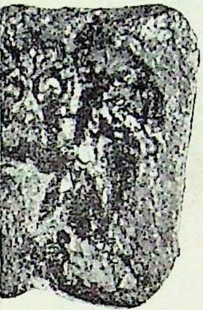
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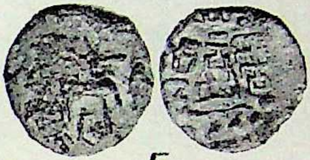
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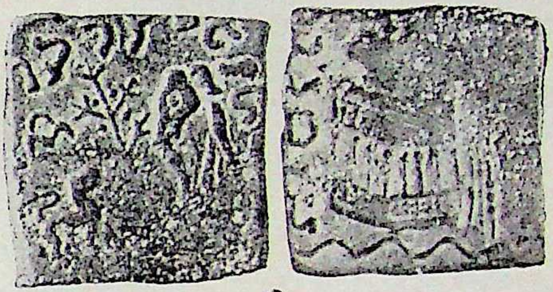
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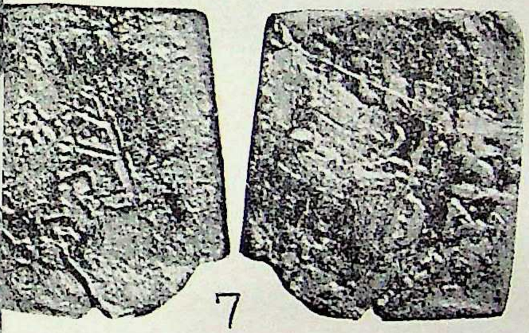
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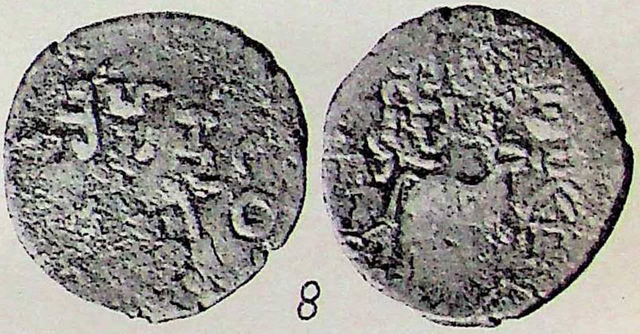
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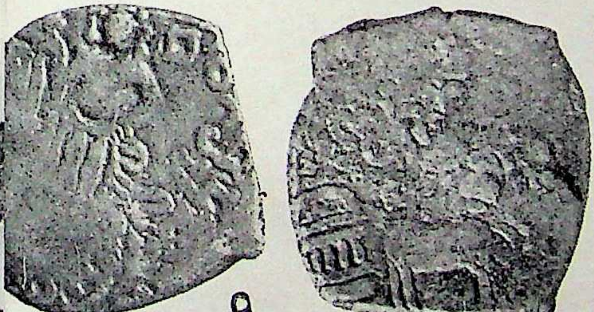
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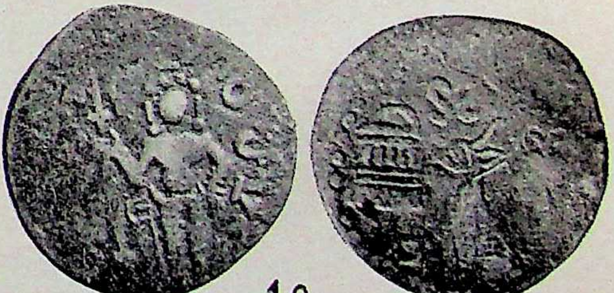
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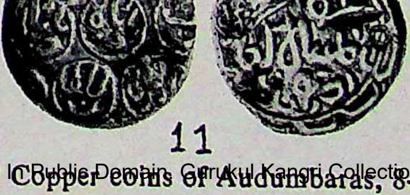
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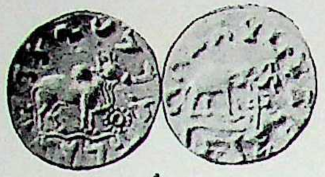
1-5 Some Kuṇinda coins, 6-7 Copper coins of Audumbaras, 8-10 Copper coins of Yaudheyas, 11 A coin of Nasir Shah of Bengal.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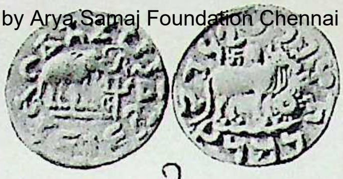
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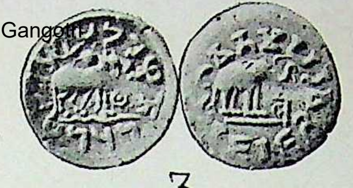
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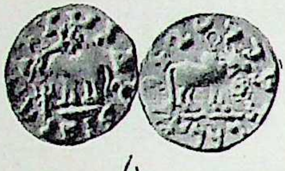
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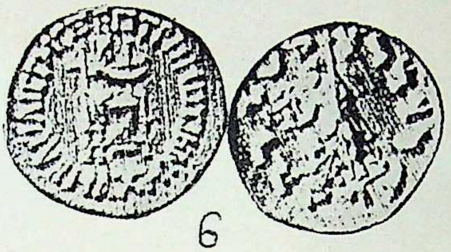
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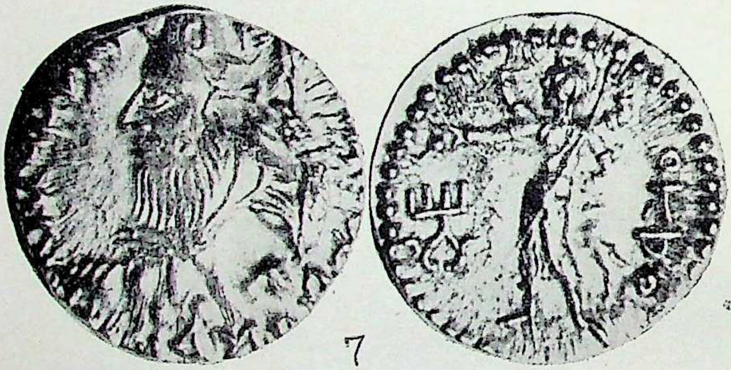
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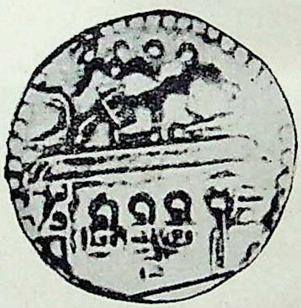
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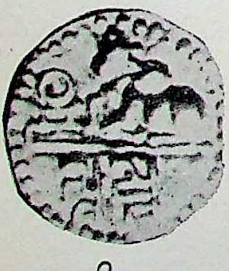
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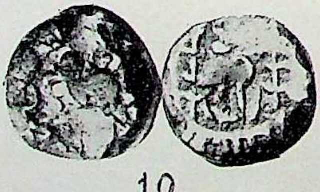
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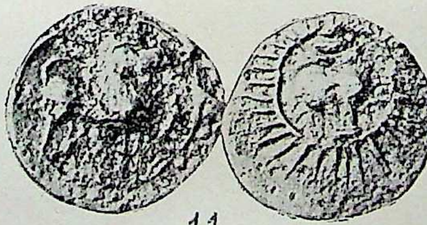
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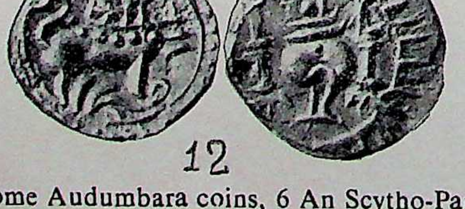
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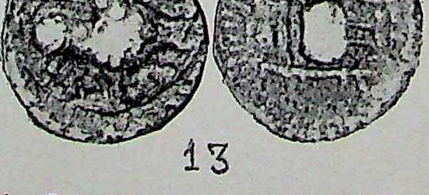
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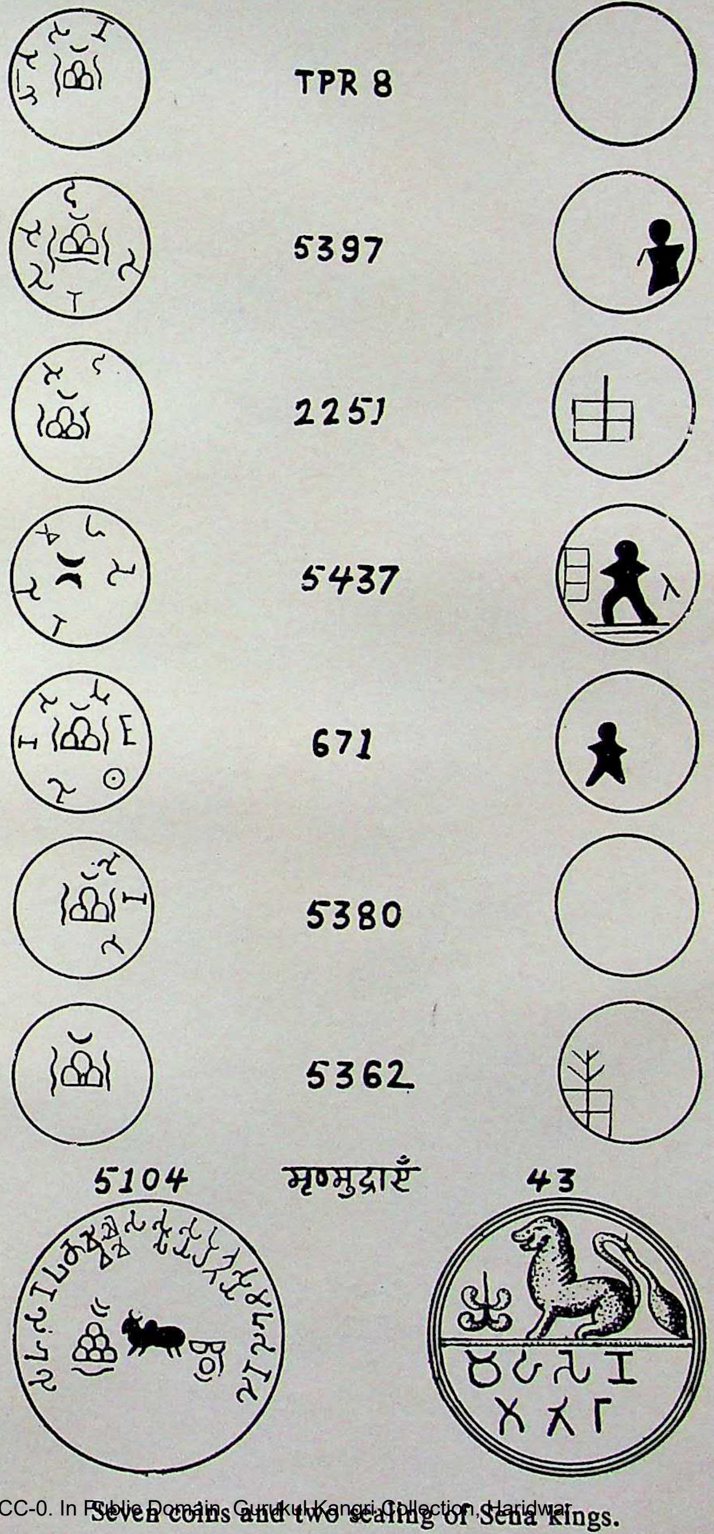
1-5 Some Audumbara coins, 6 An Scytho-Parthian coin, 7 A quarter stater of Kanishka, 8. A gold coin of Nandanaraja (Nala), 9. A gold coin of Stambha (Nala), 10-13 So-called Vishnukuṇḍin coins.

PLATE V

सेनवंशीय सिक्के

पंजीयन क्रमांक


TPR 8
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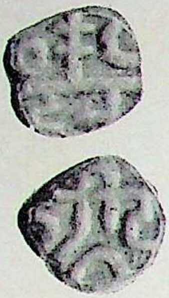
मृण्मुद्राएँ
43

Seven coins and two sealing of Sena kings.

LATE VI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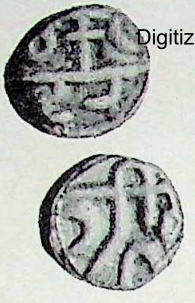
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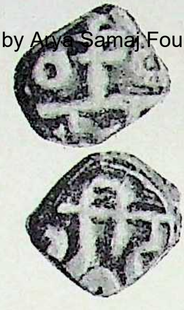
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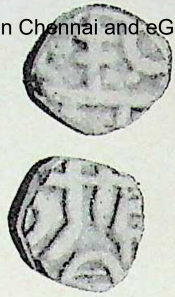
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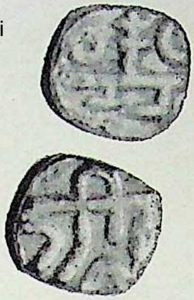
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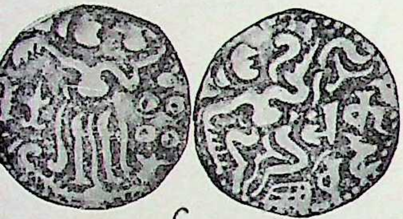
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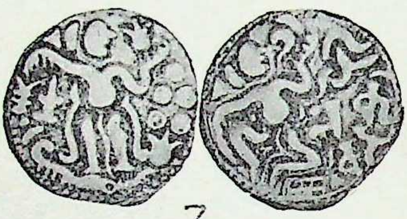
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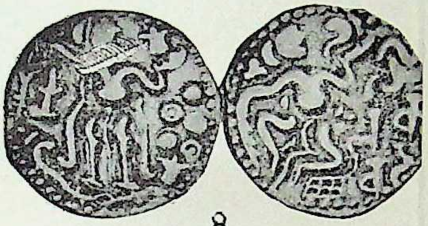
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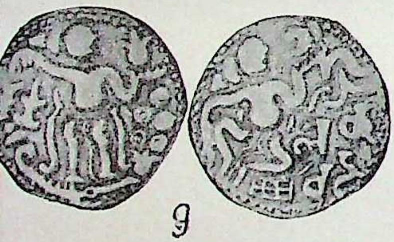
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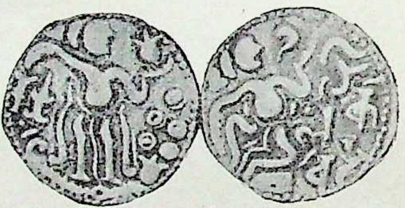
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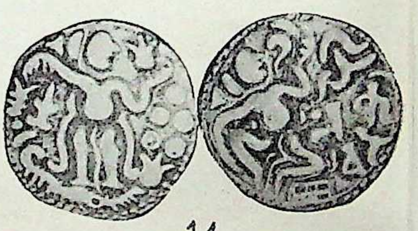
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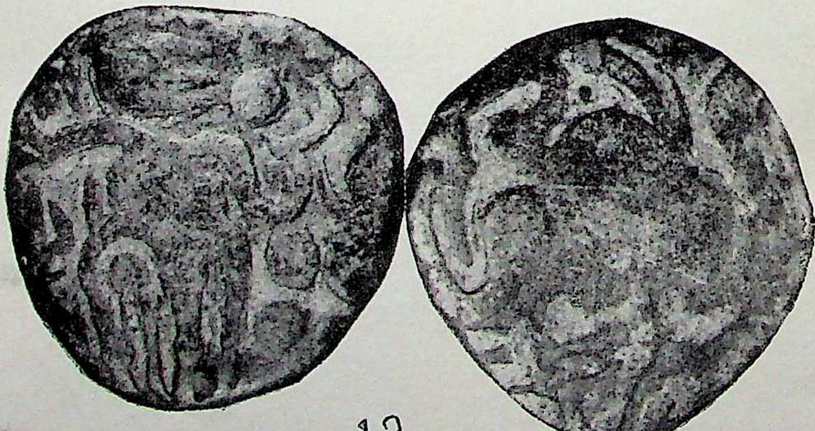
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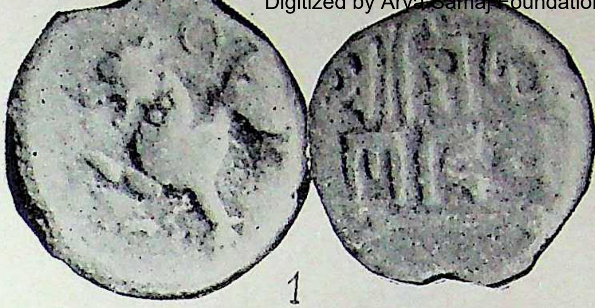
1-5 Silahara coins, 6-11 Coins of Sri Lanka from Tamil Nadu, 12 Copper coins of Rajaraja I.



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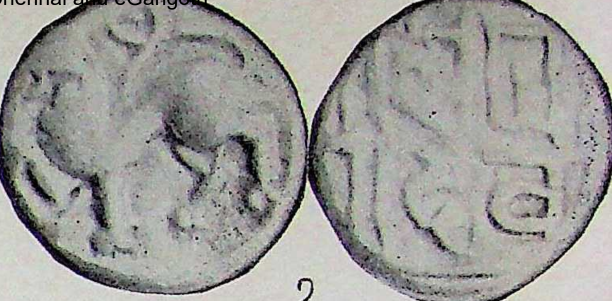

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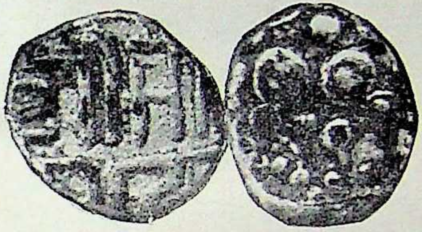

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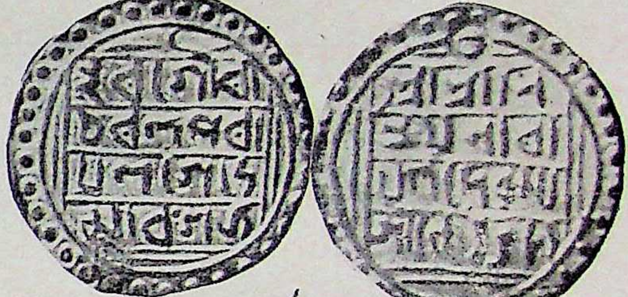

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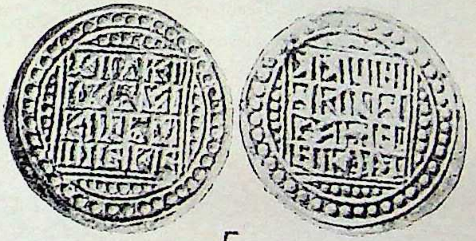

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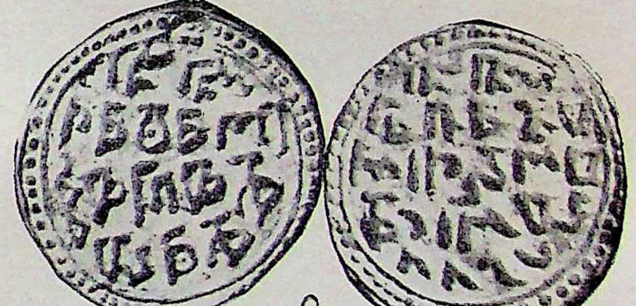

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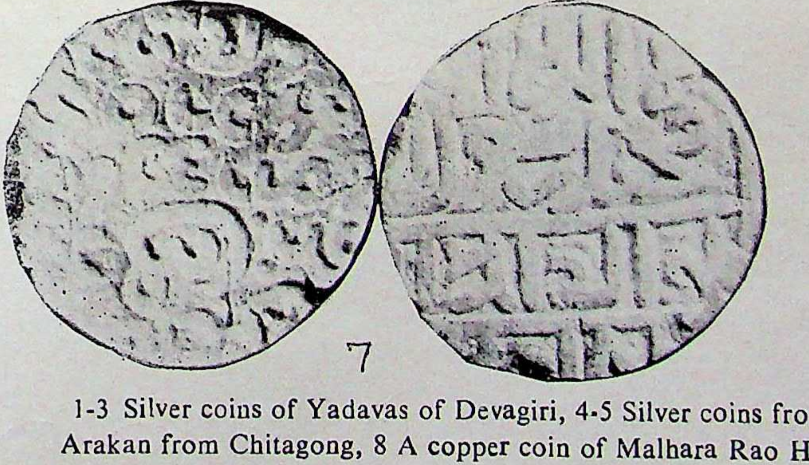

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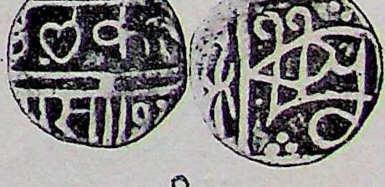

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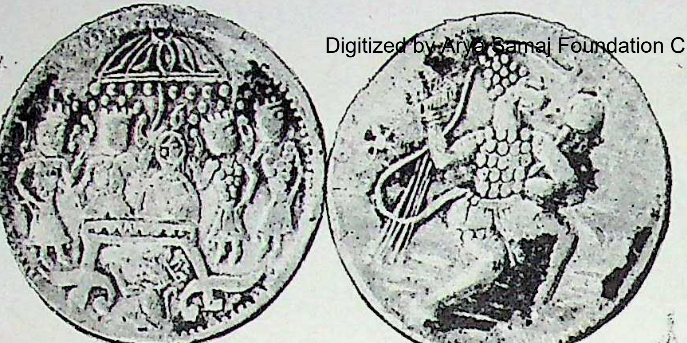
1-3 Silver coins of Yadavas of Devagiri, 4-5 Silver coins from Tripura, 7 A coin of Arakan from Chitagong, 8 A copper coin of Malhara Rao Holkar I.



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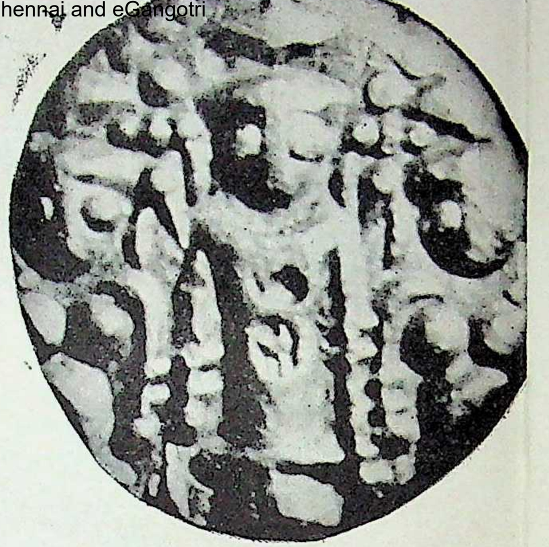

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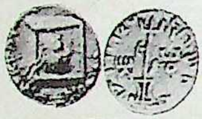

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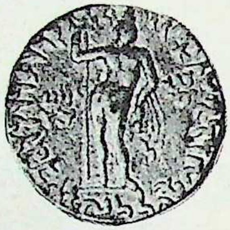

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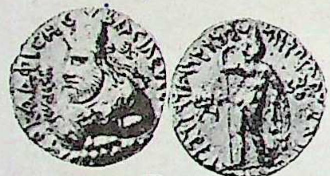

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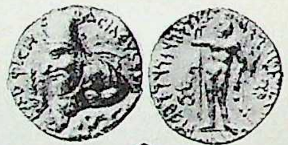

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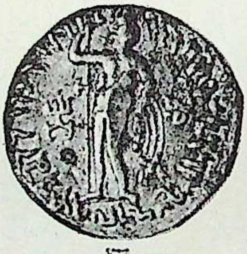

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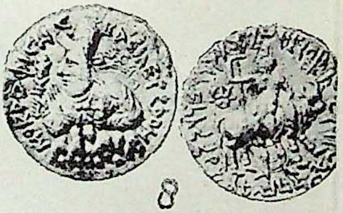

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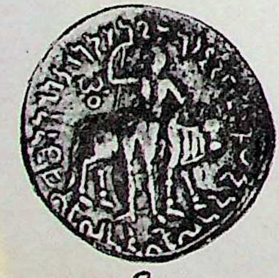

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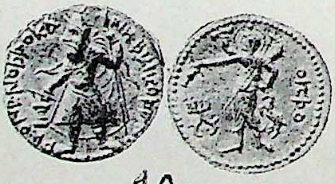

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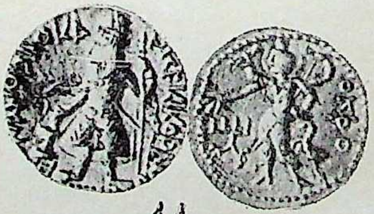

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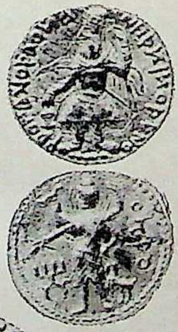

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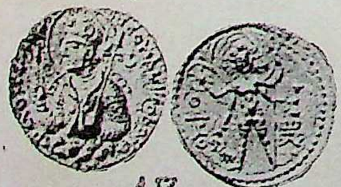

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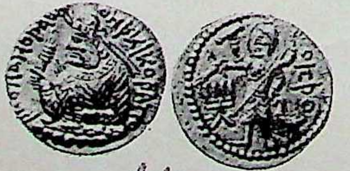

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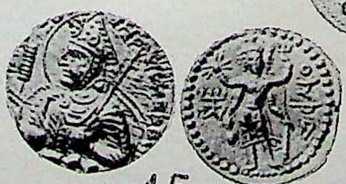

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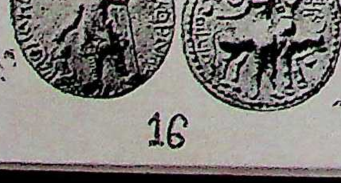

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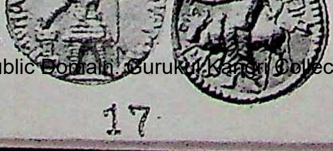

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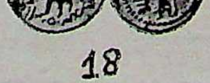

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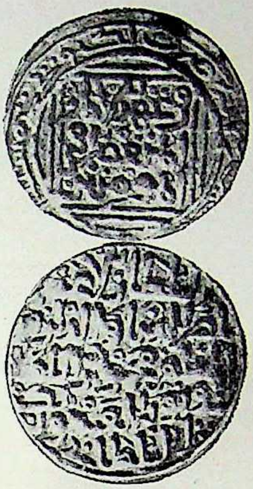
PLATE I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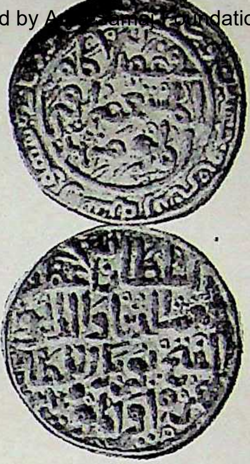
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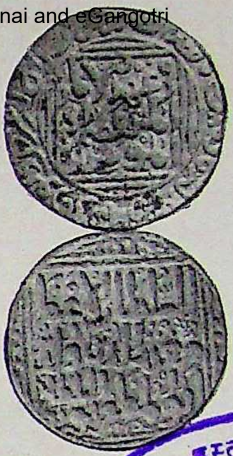
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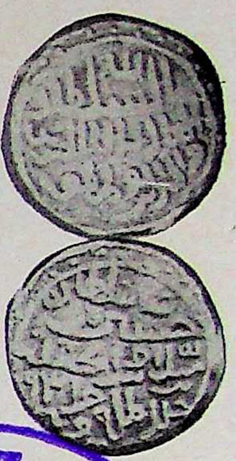
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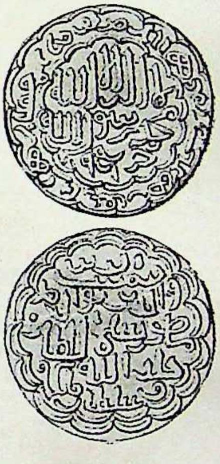
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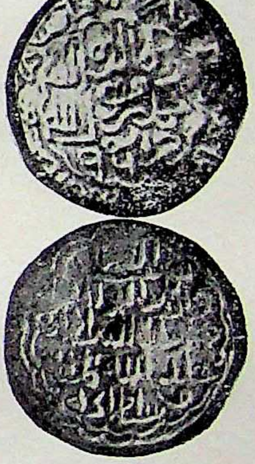
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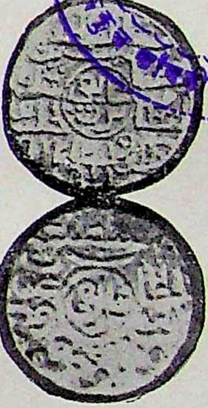
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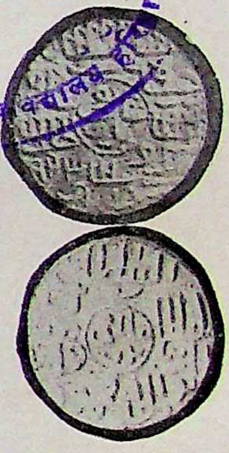
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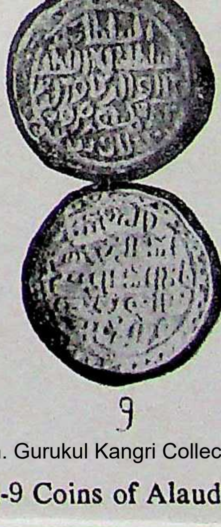
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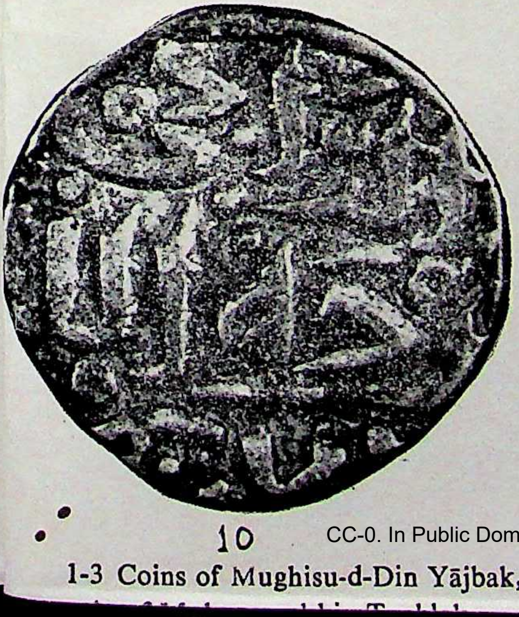
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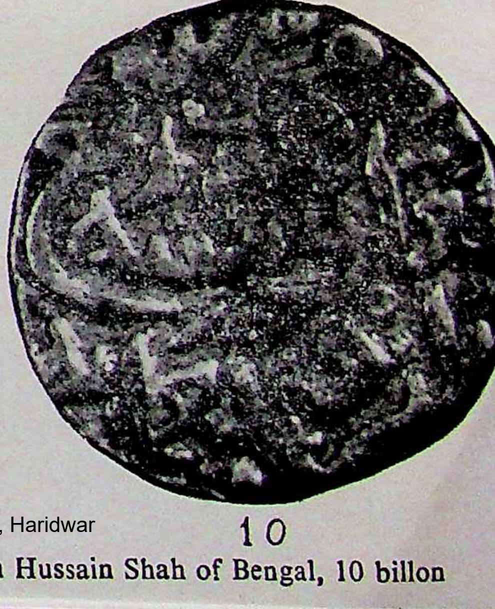
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1-3 Coins of Mughisu-d-Din Yājbak, 4-9 Coins of Alauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal, 10 billon

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Compiled
1999-2000